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A SELECTION

FROM THE

PAPERS

OF THE

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EARLS OF MARCHMONT,

IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE RIGHT HON.^BLE SIR GEORGE HENRY ROSE.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF EVENTS

FROM

1685 TO 1750.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE practice of modern days has entirely sanctioned the publication of such family manuscripts, as may throw light upon the manners, the literature, and the history of the country; and, when confined within its due limits, it is founded on evident and general utility. And so great an eagerness has prevailed of late in the public mind for the production of this description of information, that at this hour, whoever may be in the possession of such papers, will rather be deemed bound to account for withholding them, or for delay in publishing them, than for laying them before the world.

In no respect is this feeling of the nation so warranted in its demand to be satisfied as in matters touching the record of events affecting the state, of its weal, and its woes, of its wis-

dom, and its follies, as authoritative lessons of experience for its guidance. As its past existence has an incalculable influence on its present and future fortunes, and as that existence is essentially in its history, it must be admitted, that it is entitled to expect of its citizens, that they shall contribute liberally whatever stores of knowledge, there may be within their control, which may aid towards its perfection, and to render it a faithful, capacious, and animated picture of the facts it narrates. But that history should, together with all fidelity, combine 'ample room and verge enough,' for its author to be able to trace distinctly the characters, views, and interests of those, whose conduct affects the destinies of a country, is no where more important than with regard to our own, whose singular and felicitous Constitution is composed of various and nicely-balanced powers, which must be in constant but equal pressure upon each other, in order that the machine may remain entire and efficient. But this constitution has an oral as well as a written law; so that we are required to be accurately informed of the purposes and principles of our

forefathers, who founded or amended it, as well as of their enactments, that we may know how safely, and consistently with their policy, to repair whatever may have become defective, and what expedients to recur to under new and untried circumstances.

Yet, although it is in the correspondence, diaries, or memoirs of public men, that the most instructive materials for history must be sought for, it has been a matter of as much regret as notoriety, how deplorably great was the scarcity of such British documents till within these last few years; and this circumstance is the more surprising, as many causes, which prevent the publication of private papers, or lead to their appearance in a mutilated state in other countries, are here unknown.

Various and vigorous efforts have been made of late to redeem us from this reproach, and by no one certainly so effectually as by the late Archdeacon Coxe; and I venture to cherish the hope, that the selection from the Marchmont Papers now offered to the public will not be found wholly unworthy to be aggregated to the mass of these newly-discovered treasures of our

land. But whilst we, the contributors to it, are performing the humble duty of extracting the stone and the marble from the quarry, and of bringing the metals to light from the mines, in which they lay concealed, we must especially cherish the earnest hope, that some mighty architect may arise, endowed with a superior spirit of truth and wisdom, by whose powerful hand they may be built up as a fane, which shall be worthy of a nation, to which such singular and wonderful destinies have been allotted, and which has enjoyed in so extraordinary a degree the blessing and protection of Heaven in the fulfilment of them.

Whoever communicates the manuscripts of a family to the world, will naturally feel anxious to have it understood, by what right he holds, and publishes them. This anxiety will arise from a due regard to his own character, especially should he not have the honor to belong to that family, and also from a sense of duty to those, who may peruse them, that they shall be satisfied, that they may with a safe conscience participate in what is proffered to them. This therefore I shall proceed to do, as briefly as I can.

My late father, in the preface to his 'Observations on the Historical Work of the late 'Right Honorable Charles James Fox,' states, that the late Earl of Marchmont at his death deposited with him, his sole executor, as a sacred trust, all[1] the manuscripts of his family, 'with an injunction to make use of them if he 'should ever find it necessary:' and feeling himself then called upon, in fulfilment of the duty thus imposed upon him, to vindicate the conduct of Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards the first Earl of Marchmont, in the Earl of Argyle's expedition in 1685, he published in that work Sir Patrick's manuscript narrative of the occurrences, which took place in it.

He afterwards says in a note to that preface, 'I have a great number of letters from the same 'Peer (Lord Bolingbroke), Lord Stair, the

[1] It has been stated since my father's death on unquestionable authority, that 'many other manuscripts of great value and in-'terest are yet preserved in the archives of Marchmont House, 'in Scotland.' This he had no means of knowing. The late Earl long before his death removed his library, and a great mass of family papers, to Hemel Hemsted, in Hertfordshire, where he spent the last years of his life, and where my father found them, when he inherited them on his Lordship's decease.

'Duchess of Marlborough, Sir William Wyndham, Lord Chesterfield, Mr. Pope, and others, to Lord Marchmont, in which there is much interesting matter respecting transactions from Queen Anne's time to the year 1750; but, although under no injunction to the contrary, I have at present no thought of publishing them, excepting, &c.'

Having, with a single exception which I shall state, allowed those papers, which I inherited of my father, to rest in full privacy for twelve years, I may perhaps obtain credit for the sincerity of the expression of my regret, that it falls to my lot to make them by myself known to the world. A sense of a want of many of the qualities requisite for the task of an editor, and of such accurate knowledge in that particular department of literature, to which these papers mainly belong, for the period to which they refer, as would be desirable for their illustration; and, besides this, occupations either of duty, or more congenial to my taste and habits, have hitherto withheld me from it. Yet, whilst I was sensible, that it would be both useful to the public, and creditable to the noble family

from which they are derived, that a selection from the large existing mass of them should be published, I could not determine to delegate to another the control of a property of so peculiar and delicate a nature, made over by the last Earl of Marchmont to my father, who owed him a very deep debt of gratitude for long, unabated, and distinguished kindness. My excuse then for publishing them myself, under the consciousness I have avowed, and under disadvantages which no one can appreciate so well as myself, is, that I felt that, from one cause or another, should I not commit them to the press, there was a very great probability of their finally perishing in oblivion. I shall therefore proceed to fulfil my duty, as succinctly as I can, assuring those, who may be pleased to accept this assurance, that they will be no losers by the brevity of my labors.

But I may be here permitted to express another and a more lively regret, that this task was not executed by him, from whom I immediately derived these manuscripts. His acuteness, his talents for investigation, his indefatigable industry, and his accurate knowledge of our

records, and of our history, and particularly of that of the last hundred and fifty years, qualified him in an especial degree for an undertaking, which he would have accomplished with equal facility and success. He had also the great advantage of having had during many years long and frequent conversations with the last Earl of Marchmont, whose memory was stored with rich recollections of what he had himself seen, or had learnt from the distinguished statesmen and men of letters, with whom he lived in his youth. But I must own, as judging from my earliest and latest acquaintance with his life, that I am aware, that he never would have undertaken this task, whilst there remained any object in any department of the State, to which he believed that his exertions could be beneficially directed.

A few historical anecdotes from Hugh Lord Marchmont's mouth were written by my father on the margin of his unbound copy of 'Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole;' the bookbinder's knife has made sad and strange inroads into them; but what can be saved I have subjoined to the appropriate places. The greater part of them will be found in substance in his

'Observations on Mr. Fox's Historical Work;' but I give them as I find them in his handwriting. A very small number of similar reminiscences of my own is also added.

The papers, from which a selection is now published, belonged to the three Earls of Marchmont. The illustration of their ancient and noble family lasted only three generations; but, as in each of the three the enjoyment of it was graced by virtues, talents, and public services, it might have retained it for ages, and yet have been less honored, than it was, by the personal qualities of its possessors.

It is my purpose to offer such a biographical notice respecting those noblemen, as may be necessary to render these papers intelligible; but I should consider it entirely foreign to, and beyond that purpose, were I to attempt to make it a history of that family, and of its alliances.

Their family, that of the Humes of Polwarth in Berwickshire, is a younger branch of the illustrious house of Dunbar, Earls of March, whose origin is traced to Saxon Kings of England, and to Princes or Earls of Northumber-

land. The Earls of Home and the Earls of Marchmont had a common ancestor in Sir Thomas Hume, in the days of Robert the Second and Robert the Third; the former descended from his eldest, the latter from his youngest son, who was the progenitor of the Humes of Wedderburn, and of the Humes of Polwarth, the first-named being the senior branch. Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards the first Earl of Marchmont, was the eighth Baron of Polwarth of his name. Born in 1641, he was sent to the Scottish parliament as the representative of his native county when twenty-four years of age, and gave early proof of high and brilliant talents, which had been carefully cultivated in the excellent education, which the prudence and affection of his widowed mother procured for him. He quickly perceived the tendency of the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of Charles the Second's government in Scotland as destructive to the liberty and religion of his country, and devoted himself energetically and perseveringly to their maintenance.

It was his peculiar happiness, that the pure Christian faith, which he struggled to uphold,

and the assertion of which he knew to be inseparably connected with the cause of rational freedom, was so rooted in his mind and in his feelings, it so allied itself with, and governed all that he thought, and said, and did, that though plunged in early life into party politics, they neither hardened nor corrupted a heart so hallowed and protected; and hence it was, that vicissitudes of fortune, so marked and various as those which befel him, failed to produce their wonted prejudicial effects upon it.

He was one of those, who in 1674 accompanied the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Tweeddale in their errand to lay before the king the grievances of their country, and shared in the delusion most unworthily practised upon them. In that year he had to experience the fraud, in the next the violence of oppression. The Privy Council of Scotland had placed garrisons in the houses of the gentry, and required the neighbouring country to supply them with provisions in direct contravention to law. Deputed by the shire of Berwick to procure a legal remedy, he remonstrated and protested against these measures, was brought before the Council, declared

incapable of public trust, and thrown into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and afterwards into the Castles of Dumbarton and Stirling. He was liberated after a long confinement, on the intercession of his English relations, and especially of the Countess of Northumberland. The order for his liberation of 17th April, 1679, states, 'that he had been imprisoned for reasons known 'to his Majesty, and tending to secure the pub-'lic peace;' and adds, 'the occasions of sus-'picion and public jealousy being over, he is 'ordered to be liberate.'

For an imprisonment under such motives his reputation is not likely to suffer in the eyes of posterity; but if that posterity contemplates the picture of the tyranny, which weighed upon Scotland during the Duke of Lauderdale's administration, and to which there was no parallel in the English history of that day, it will do justice to the patriotism and public virtue, which rose up in opposition to it; we may safely take it as traced by the hand of Hume. That historian reprobates the oppressive measure, against which Sir Patrick Hume protested, and afterwards thus expresses himself:—'It were end-

'less to recount every act of violence and arbi-
'trary authority exercised under Lauderdale's
'administration.'—'The private deportment of
'Lauderdale was as insolent, as his public ad-
'ministration was violent and tyrannical. Jus-
'tice was likewise universally perverted by fac-
'tion and interest; and from the great rapacity
'of that duke, and still more of his duchess, all
'offices and favors were openly put to sale.
'No one was allowed to approach the throne,
'who was not dependent on him; and no re-
'medy could be hoped for, or obtained against
'his manifold oppressions.'

I should here state, that as the Marchmont Papers afford me no biographical notices respecting Sir Patrick Hume, except during the time that he was engaged in the Earl of Argyle's Expedition, and during King William's march from Devonshire to London, I have necessarily recurred to authorities of his day for the particulars offered, but especially for the earlier part of his life to the account of it given in Mr. George Crawfurd's 'Lives and Characters

'of the Officers of the Crown, and of the State 'in Scotland,' because the author refers continually to information, which he had received from Sir Patrick respecting his public transactions. The following passage, in which he describes the conduct held by Sir Patrick upon his liberation, is deserving of much attention :— 'Sir Patrick after this, finding the ministers of 'state were most earnestly set on his destruc- 'tion, and that he could not live in security at 'home, went to England, and entered into a 'strict friendship with the Duke of Monmouth, 'the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Lord Russell, 'who was his near relation. With them he 'often met, and had many conferences on the 'state of Scotland, and what might be done 'there to secure the kingdom from popery and 'arbitrary power, in the event of a popish suc- 'cessor. But, as his lordship protested to me, 'there never passed among them the least in- 'timation of any design against the King's life, 'or the Duke of York's; that was what they 'all had an abhorrence of. But he said, he 'thought it was lawful for subjects, being under

'such pressures, to try how they might be re-
'lieved from them; and their design never went
'further.'

'Upon the breaking out of the Rye-plot[1],
'Sir Patrick thinking he might be in dan-
'ger, went out of the way, and got beyond
'sea.'

Very few points in English history have been more anxiously agitated, than the nature and extent of the political objects, for which the distinguished persons here mentioned confederated, or at least entered into communications with each other, and whether criminality in any shape, and, if so, to what degree, attached to the eminent men, who perished on the scaffold for having so done. Sir Patrick Hume according to Crawfurd, and moreover according to the conduct he held in his timely concealment and flight, appears to have been completely identified with them in their views; and as to the nature and utmost extent of their design, such as it is here specified, I think, Sir Patrick Hume, as thus quoted, is a most undeniable authority. Mr.

[1] The Rye-House Plot.

Crawfurd's book was published at Edinburgh in 1726, that is, two years after Lord Marchmont's death. His Lordship's declaration was voluntarily made, and probably in the calm and solemnity of retirement, long after he had wholly withdrawn from public affairs; and whilst the known integrity of his life, and his religious principles forbid us to question his veracity, it must be admitted, that, even could we refuse faith to their power, we can discover no motive at that time in force for a gratuitous disguisement of the truth, or imagine circumstances more unconnected with hope or fear, or with the influence of past events on the mind, than those in which he spoke. Forty years elapsed between Lord Russell's and Lord Marchmont's deaths; and they embraced five changes of reign and three of dynasty. His testimony in this matter then may be admitted to be decisive.

Sir Patrick saved by voluntary exile a life precious to his country; but one very dear to it, and especially dear in his sight, was sacrificed for a participation in the counsels, in which he had shared, that of Baillie of Jerviswood, whose imprisonment served to him as a warning for

concealment, and whose death as a signal for flight. Their zeal in the assertion of the temporal and spiritual liberties of Scotland had been the same; they had sought to maintain the universal cause of rational freedom and of pure religion, by manfully upholding it in their proper scene of action; and they had already paid the penalty of their patriotism by unjust imprisonment, accompanied in Baillie's case by a pecuniary fine. Mr. Baillie's relation, Bishop Burnet, has placed in striking opposition the piety of his life, the heroic and Christian resignation with which he met its violent termination, and the detestable injustice and cruelty of the government, through which he perished.

A fugitive, and overwhelmed with grief for the loss of his friend, Sir Patrick Hume knew not the consolation reserved for him in distant years. The union between their families, by the marriage of children entirely worthy of them, derived its origin from their very misfortunes, under circumstances of deep and peculiar interest. The affections, which united the only son of Baillie, and the eldest daughter of Sir Patrick Hume, springing up whilst they were

children and in the midst of adversity, endured, and grew in strength under common calamity, poverty, and exile. The filial piety of Lady Murray, their eldest daughter, by perpetuating the eminent virtues of her parents in their memoirs, has raised a more beautiful monument to their memory, than the hand of fiction could have reared.

Extensive extracts from those memoirs were obligingly communicated to my father[1], who published them in the Appendix to his Observations on Mr. Fox's Work. But as they have since been printed in a complete state, I shall not allow myself to make any partial citation from them. Lady Murray's narrative of the concealment of her grandfather, Sir Patrick Hume, in a subterraneous vault at the church at Polwarth, to which her mother was mainly instrumental, and of his providential escape, commemorates

[1] My father owed this kindness to George Baillie, Esq., of Jerviswood, who descends from the second son of the marriage of Charles Lord Binning with Rachel, the younger daughter of Mr. Baillie and Lady Grisell Baillie. Representing that family, and so descended, he might well aspire to the honor, he has often enjoyed, of representing also the County of Berwick in Parliament.

very striking events of her family with great energy and simplicity.

Sir Patrick Hume effected his escape to London, and thence to France, whence, after a short stay, he proceeded to Flanders, Brabant, and Holland[1], where, his biographer, Crawfurd,

[1] It would appear scarcely possible, that either Lady Murray or Crawfurd should have made erroneous statements respecting the course of road, which Sir Patrick Hume followed in this escape. But so they certainly did. Lady Murray states, that he forded the Tweed; and she says afterwards, 'he got to London by bye-'ways, passing for a surgeon; he could bleed, and always carried 'lancets. From that he went to France, and travelled from Bor-'deaux to Holland on foot, where he sent for his wife and ten 'children.' Crawfurd, speaking of Sir Patrick's escape upon the discovery of the Rye-House Plot, says, that he got beyond sea, and adds, 'he lived awhile at Geneva, from whence he came 'down to Holland, where he waited on the Prince of Orange, '&c.'

Now Sir Patrick Hume, in his 'Letter of Important Passages, 'in Anno 1685,' written in that same year, speaking of his escape in the preceding month of September, says, 'so soon as 'I got upon the Continent, I staid but short in France, but 'spent some weeks in Dunkirk, Ostend, Bruges, and other towns 'in Flanders and Brabant, where I traversed before I came to 'Brussells, whither, soon as I heard that he resided there, I 'went to converse with the Duke of Monmouth; but he was gone 'thence to Hague, which led me, after waiting some time for 'him in expectation of his return, on to Antwerp, and so to 'Holland.' This implies, that his stay in France could not have exceeded a week or a fortnight, as he gives us thus clearly to understand, that the time he remained in that country was short,

tells us, ' The Prince of Orange, looking on ' him as a confessor for the protestant religion, ' and the liberties of his country, treated him ' with a very particular respect.'

He had not been long there, when the news of Charles the Second's death reached him. On this intelligence he entered into communication with the Scots, and afterwards with the English exiles, who flocked in numbers to Holland, to determine the course it behoved them to

when compared with the weeks he spent in Dunkirk, Flanders, and Brabant. But it is evident from his letters printed at the end of Lady Murray's Narrative, that he was at Bordeaux and Geneva when escaping from Scotland after the failure of Argyle's expedition, and on his way to rejoin his family in Holland. In that journey he must have been many weeks at least in France. His first letter from Bourdeaux was written on the 15th November, 1685; there are a letter dated the 13th January, 1686, another dated two days, and another four days after, which appear to have been written also from that city; and there are his letters dated Geneva, the 17th May, and 12th June, both of 1686. His letter above referred to of the 13th January from Bordeaux shews, that he gave himself out there for a surgeon. He signs that letter as Peter Wallas; and it was as Dr. Wallace, that Captain Burd, who travelled with him on foot a part of the way from France to Holland, knew him.

Crawfurd is probably correct in saying, that on the discomfiture of the Earl of Argyle's expedition, Sir Patrick Hume, whose escape would naturally be from the West Coast of Scotland, first reached Dublin; and from Ireland there must have been frequent means of passage to Bordeaux.

follow. The result of the deliberations of the Scots was the Earl of Argyle's expedition, of the leading events of which Sir Patrick Hume has given a most interesting narrative, to which I refer for a full and ably delineated detail of the motives, views, and conduct of the leaders. It will be seen, that they acted in complete concert with the Duke of Monmouth, having it as their object to avert the destruction of the religion, and to maintain 'the national and 'native rights and liberties of the free people 'of Britain and Ireland, and all the legal fences 'of society and property there established.' It could not be, but that the oppression, under which they had especially suffered, and their personal knowledge of James the Second, when Duke of York, in the exercise of authority, should have excited in the minds of the Scots a peculiar exasperation and dread of his rule.

That ill-fated expedition sailed from the Zuyder Zee the 2nd of May, 1685; and by the 20th of the next month the Earl of Argyle was taken prisoner, and the dispersion of his force complete. Sir Patrick Hume, who had exhibited uniform firmness, wisdom, and wariness

in the counsels of this enterprize, and resolution in the execution of it, after a sharp and successful conflict at the Muir Dykes found an asylum in the house of a particular friend, the Laird of Langshaw, in Ayrshire. But it appears, that he also lay concealed at Kilwinning, and there composed his narrative of his share in the expedition. A report of his death was spread abroad to induce a relaxation in the search for him; and he effected his escape first to Ireland and thence to Bordeaux, whence he proceeded to Geneva, and thence to Holland, crossing France on foot. It would now be very difficult to determine precisely, what blame may justly attach to the conduct of that undertaking. Very many causes led to its failure; a material one was the struggle in their councils between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders, each naturally anxious to make their own country the theatre of the war. The ardor, courage, and sincerity of the Earl of Argyle are above all question; but he appears to have overrated his internal, and to have miscalculated his external resources. It is indeed difficult for us not to judge of such expeditions by the standard

of such, as we are used to see carried on by regular forces: in them professional zeal and professional interests, and, above all, military discipline compress greatly the sincere opinions, as well as the wayward wills of men, and subject them to an uniform and imperative guidance. But in a volunteer enterprize, the strength of which lies in the patriotism of each individual, and which cannot succeed otherwise than by the impulse of high-wrought feelings, even the honest action of the energies excited must, according to the diversities of men's views, interests, and opinions, inevitably lead to dangerous divergencies, and collisions, which there can be but little means of controlling.

Sir Patrick Hume returned to poverty and exile in Holland, but he returned also to the bosom of his exemplary family; and they awaited better days with cheerful submission and resignation. His estate, forfeited in 1686, was given to the Earl of Seaford.

In June 1688 he addressed from Utrecht a letter powerful in style and arguments to his

friend Sir William Denholm; it was written to be communicated to the Presbyterian ministers, to whose church he was zealously attached, to put them on their guard against an insidious plan, which was in agitation, to induce them to 'petition King James for a toleration, which 'would have included the papists.'

The character, which he there traces of King William, was the fruit of the knowledge he had had ample means of acquiring; and it is expressive of those feelings of admiration, which he already felt for one so highly and rarely gifted; and that admiration, heightened by the weightiest national and personal obligations, became one of the most influential principles of his conduct. Would that others had been so minded, as he was through life, towards the heroic preserver of our religion and our liberties! But it must be confessed, that Scotland throughout dealt far more righteously and nobly with King William, than did England, whose conduct towards a benefactor, to whom it owed a debt of gratitude beyond all acquittal, is one of the foulest stains in her history.—Cold and reserved he was, and possibly somewhat ungracious in

manner; but I am not yet aware of the justice, with which the English, as a people, can take it as a ground of offence with a foreigner, that he is such.

Sir Patrick Hume's eldest son, a young man of excellent promise, and his future son-in-law, Baillie, bore arms in the Horse-Guards of the Prince of Orange, in whose fleet he sailed with them under new, for they were at length favorable auspices; and he saw in the Revolution the attainment of all those great objects of conscience, and of personal and national security, for which he had so long and so fruitlessly striven and endured. The rest of his life was dedicated to the maintenance of them.

When the government was dissolved on King James's abdication, Sir Patrick Hume took a prominent part in the measures resorted to in Scotland to place the Prince of Orange at the head of affairs, until a convention of the states should decide on the government of the nation. He was a member of that convention, which met in 1689, and zealous in the cause of the Prince and Princess of Orange, upon whom

the crown was settled. Not long after this he was named a member of the new Privy Council; and in December 1690 he was created a Peer of the Realm of Scotland by the title of Lord Polwarth. The preamble of the patent is a splendid testimony to the eminent virtues he had displayed in asserting the rights and the religion of his country. In this patent King William vouchsafed to him a peculiar mark of personal esteem and regard, by assigning to him, in addition to his armorial bearings, 'an 'orange proper ensigned, with an imperial 'crown to be placed in a surtout in his coat of 'arms in all time coming, as a lasting mark of 'his Majesty's royal favor to the family of 'Polwarth, and in commemoration of his lord-'ship's great affection to his said Majesty.'

Sir Patrick had seen in Holland the lowest ebb of his fortunes, and he now rode prosperously on their flood. From this time his history is to be found in that of his country. He was appointed in 1692 to be principal sheriff of Berwickshire, and in 1693 to be one of the four extraordinary Lords of the Session. In 1696 he attained the highest office in Scotland, that

of Lord Chancellor; and in less than a year after he was created Earl of Marchmont. In 1698 he was appointed Lord High Commissioner to represent the King's person in the Session of Parliament, which met at Edinburgh in July of that year. His correspondence with King William and his ministers, whilst he exercised those high functions, exhibits an earnest and constant desire so to act, and to advise, as should best promote at once the honor of his master and benefactor, and the weal of the state; and he had the good fortune to serve a prince, who imposed no duties upon him, which brought into conflict his obligations to the sovereign and to his country.

The death of King William overwhelmed one so entirely devoted to him with a grief, which he did not attempt to disguise to his successor. He was retained in office by Queen Anne, but, as it happened, only for a short time. In the first session of the Scots Parliament after her accession he presented to it an Act for the abjuration of the Pretender; and though it was in conformity to, and in imitation of, the English Act past immediately on her ascending the

throne, and was read a first time, the High Commissioner adjourned the house in order to stop the measure. In his memorial to the Queen of the 1st July, 1702, will be found a full vindication of his conduct in this matter, and a statement of that held by his friends, and the commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, differing essentially from Lockhart's. He was on this dismissed from his high employment. Here ended his official life. He has left us tolerable means of judging him as a statesman; and although there is no trace of his having received a legal education, it is no small praise of him to say, that his reputation for decisions conformably to the laws, for sagacity and soundness of judgment, as well as for probity, as chief magistrate of his country, remains unimpeached.

As up to that time, so thenceforward, the great object of his life was to promote whatsoever tended to consolidate all that had been established at the Revolution, and to resist whatsoever impugned it.

In 1703, Lord Marchmont experienced a most afflicting loss in that of his distinguished consort, of the family of Ker of Cavers, to whose

virtues and amiable qualities he has left a very affecting testimony.

In the session of 1703, it was, according to Lockhart, the conduct held by the Duke of Argyle, the Marquis of Annandale, and Lord Marchmont, which compelled the Duke of Queensberry to follow their views instead of those of the Jacobites; and, in consequence thereof, Lord Marchmont's Act for the security of the Presbyterian government, and the Duke of Argyle's for ratifying the Claim of Right, were past. Yet in what temper of the House this was effected, is sufficiently clear from other legislative measures, which it adopted, and the rejection of an Act presented by Lord Marchmont for settling the succession on the House of Hanover.

The earnestness, with which he inculcated, wherever he could make his voice heard, the importance of an union with England, must have been greatly increased by the tendency of Acts, past since he was out of office by the Scottish Parliament, which must have led to a struggle between the two nations, had not that measure been adopted. His letters, especially

those addressed to Queen Anne, to Lord Somers, and to Lord Wharton, attest his anxious labors to forward that great work for the consolidation of all, which the Revolution effected. His advice on the selection of Commissioners to treat on the Union on the part of Scotland was happily adopted, though in truth emanating from so deep a sagacity, that it could scarcely have been duly estimated by ordinary minds. From that selection, more than from any other expedient resorted to, the success of the Union appears to have resulted.

He exhibited his accustomed vigor in the discussions on that measure in the Scottish parliament, and was one of the most distinguished leaders of the party in it called the 'Squadron,' which acted independently of the government, but without whose efficient aid it could not have carried one single division.

He offered himself as a candidate at the election of Scots representative peers in 1707, and again on the dissolution of parliament in 1708, but in each case without success. He could scarcely calculate on the countenance of Queen Anne's government, for if he had rendered it

eminent services, he had also taught it how uncompromising was his adherence to his principles. Thus his parliamentary life ceased with the Union. But his letters written subsequently to it give evidence, that his mind was engaged deeply in all the events affecting the weal and the honor of his country. Nor was his patriotism deadened by the insult and injury he received from the Court, when in 1710 it deprived him of his office of High Sheriff of Berwickshire, conferring it on the Earl of Home.

In 1709, he sustained a very deep affliction in the loss of his eldest son, a colonel of cavalry, who, beginning his service in King William's body-guards, served through his wars and the Duke of Marlborough's with reputation, and died childless, though twice married. He was Treasurer Depute in 1696. His amiable and honorable character fully justified his father's grief. The second brother Robert, also a soldier, died many years before him.

The accession of George the First gave to Lord Marchmont what he called the desire of his heart, a Protestant king upon the throne.

He was immediately appointed anew High Sheriff of Berwickshire, and made a Lord of the Court of Police.

In 1715, in his seventy-fifth year, acting in the feelings and on the principles of his youth, he forbad a meeting of the gentlemen of Berwickshire, which had been proposed in the professed view of obtaining a redress of hardships, but which would have embarrassed the newly-established government of the House of Hanover; and his Lordship took the necessary precautions to render his prohibition effectual

He passed the last years of his life at Berwick upon Tweed, where he died in his eighty-fourth year in 1724. Even in them his affections were too warm to suffer his temper to be clouded by the austerity or moroseness of old age, so that it was a delight to the youngest of his descendants to be about his person; and his death was that of one, who knew that he was hastening to life[1]. His third son, Alexander Lord Polwarth,

[1] His device, which is constantly found in his books and manuscripts, was

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.—H. D. A.

an abridgment of Horace, 'De Arte Poetica;' at times it is written more briefly thus:

Omne tulit punctum.—H. D. A.

succeeded him. His fourth son was Sir Andrew Hume of Kimmergham, a Lord of Session.

ALEXANDER, Earl of Marchmont, was born in 1675. In his boyhood with his mother, and brothers, and sisters he shared his father's exile in Holland. Before his elder brother's death he was distinguished as Sir Alexander Campbell of Cessnok, having married the daughter and heiress of Sir George Campbell of Cessnok, whose estate was entailed upon her and her heirs. Having studied the law, he entered on the practice of it as an advocate, and became a Lord of Session, before he was thirty years of age. He was a Privy Counsellor, and a Lord of the Exchequer in Scotland, and served in the parliament there, first for Kirkwall, and then for Berwickshire, when the Act of Union passed. Emulating his father's feelings he zealously promoted that measure, and took a very active share in the arduous labors that were devolved upon the sub-committee, to which the articles of the Union were referred.

In 1712, having obtained leave of Queen

Anne to drink the waters of Spa, he proceeded to Hanover at the desire of his friends in Scotland, in order to ascertain the truth of a report eagerly circulated, that the Electoral family was altogether indifferent to the succession to the Crown. This gave rise to a correspondence between that Court and his Lordship; and he there obtained the means of controverting successfully on his return to Scotland the rumors, which occasioned his journey.

In 1715, he was made Lord Lieutenant of Berwickshire, and raised two battalions of foot and two troops of horse on the rebellion breaking out. He marched to Falkirk with one of the battalions to join the king's army sent against Lord Mar, but was ordered by the Duke of Argyle to Edinburgh, which was nearly surprised by the rebels.

In the year 1716 he was appointed Lord Register and Ambassador at the Court of Copenhagen, where he remained until the spring of 1721; and where at one time Lord Carteret, and at another Lord Glenorchy, were his associates.

In January 1722 he was named first Am-

bassador at the Congress held at Cambray, where Lord Whitworth was his colleague, and remained there till the spring of 1725, when it broke up. He received the Order of the Thistle in that year, and was made a Privy Counsellor in the year following.

In the year 1733 he joined the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's government at the time of his excise scheme, and with others, who took the same course, forfeited his office. It appears, that the distinguished members of the Scottish nobility, who joined in this act of hostility to the minister, were less induced so to do by any particular objections to that measure of finance, than by the hope, that their junction with the English, who resisted it, might lead to the subversion of Lord Islay's government of Scotland, a rule which they felt to be painful and humiliating. They knew it moreover to be sustained by means, many of which they could not respect, and which they believed to tend to degrade and alienate the nation. That they judged rightly in apprehending, that the system adopted and maintained by Sir Robert Walpole and his virtual viceroy for the manage-

ment of the public affairs in North Britain was ill calculated to conciliate to the reigning family the affections of the people, was but too sufficiently proved by subsequent events. He sat as one of the sixteen Scots peers, in the Parliament of 1727: but at the general election of 1734 the hand of power was upon him; and being excluded, he, together with the Dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the Earl of Stair, and other Scottish noblemen, entered into a concert with the leading English members of the opposition, in order to bring the machinations, unsparingly used to control the election of the peers of Scotland, to light, and their authors to punishment. Sir Robert Walpole's better fortune however prevailed against them, as it did against a similar project in 1739.

Alexander, Earl of Marchmont, died in January, 1740. He had the reputation of considerable legal knowledge, and sound abilities in his original profession; and he acquitted himself to the advantage of his country, and to his own honor, of the duties of that which he took up later in life. The transition from one to the

other was however with him less abrupt and difficult, than we, judging by education in England, might suppose. He passed between two and three years of his early youth at the University of Utrecht, 'studying civil law, philosophy, 'and other parts of learning, but especially the 'civil law, that being the profession he designed 'to follow[1].' And independently of the main benefits of such an education, the early schooling, which he could not avoid, in foreign habits as well as in languages, and in disuse for a time of our own, will have rendered him a far more essential service, than we may chuse to believe, in his foreign employments. His father must have bred him up in his own religious principles and habits. I find in his bible, in his own hand-writing, his name, the date of 'Cambray, '1st May, 1725,' and the following note, 'To 'be read thrice a year; first, 1st January; se-'cond, 1st May; third, 1st September:' and the memorandum to do the thing is accompanied by the plan for doing it, by a division of the Scriptures into portions marked out by him

[1] These words are in a biographical notice respecting himself in his own hand-writing.

through the whole of the volume for every morning and evening of each period of four months. Whether the call of his country was to its civil or its military service, he readily obeyed it, in all cases evincing a firmness of mind, a sagacity, and prudence, and an undeviating honor, which secured to him the esteem and consideration of all those, with whom he stood in relations of private or of public life, and many of whom were among the most distinguished of his countrymen.

His exclusion from public life was instantly avenged by his children. He had lost his two eldest sons in the year, in which he lost his father. But his twin sons remained to him; and destining them to the profession of the law, he sent them, as he had been sent, to complete their education in Holland, where they studied at Utrecht and Franeker. By a singular coincidence, the same general election, which deprived him of his seat in the Upper House, gave him two powerful voices, as well as votes, in the Lower, in these sons, Hugh Lord Polwarth representing Berwick upon Tweed, and Alexander Hume Campbell Berwickshire. They

were born in 1708, and first came into Parliament in 1734. Extraordinarily alike in their persons[1], each gifted with brilliant abilities and oratorical talents, and impetuously ardent in mind, they rushed at once into the conflict with the minister, who had thrust Lord Marchmont

[1] The likeness between these twin brothers, so extraordinary in their infancy as to have been perplexing to their parents and to the servants about them, remained so great in manhood, that the following proof of it is worth recording.—The Chevalier de Ramsay was in England, and about to publish his 'Travels of Cyrus' by subscription. The two brothers had each undertaken to procure a certain number of subscribers. Lord Marchmont had completed his list, and had notified to the author his having so done; whilst his brother, deeply occupied in legal as well as political pursuits, had wholly lost sight of the matter. Hume Campbell passing through Westminster Hall, but not in his professional dress, met a nobleman, for whom he was retained in an important cause, and who took that opportunity of talking to him much at length respecting it. Whilst this was passing, the Chevalier de Ramsay, coming towards them, saw, as he imagined, Lord Marchmont in his brother, accosted him as such, and overwhelmed him with a profusion of thanks and compliments, which he thought it better to accept quietly, than, by setting him right, to lead to an explanation, which must have brought to light his own small deserts, and neglect of his undertaking. As soon as the Chevalier was gone, the nobleman, who was well acquainted with both the brothers, turning to Hume Campbell, exclaimed, 'My 'dear Lord, I entreat your pardon for my extreme stupidity and 'want of observation. I took you for your brother, and have 'been thus annoying you with my tiresome lawsuit, on which 'you have heard me with so much patience.'

out of public life, and achieved for themselves a splendid reputation; and their father had the gratification to see them acquire it with singular rapidity in a career, which to them was one of filial piety as well as of public duty.

Of the eldest of those twin sons, Hugh, who became Earl of Marchmont in 1740, it is said[1], in words which I prefer greatly to my own, that 'he was distinguished for learning, for brilliancy 'of genius, and for parliamentary experience. 'The estimation, in which he was held by his 'cotemporaries early in life, may be judged of 'by his close and intimate friendship with Lord 'Cobham and Sir William Wyndham, the former 'of whom gave his bust a place in the Temple 'of Worthies at Stow; and by the mention of 'him in Mr. Pope's well-known inscription in 'his grotto at Twickenham.'

In Hugh Earl of Marchmont's career in the senate an indefatigable industry seconded well the ardor of his mind. It is well known, how especially and lamentably deficient are the records of the debates about the time, at which

[1] Rose on Fox; note on page iv. of the Introduction.

he entered into public life; but, meagre and imperfect as they are, they afford repeated evidences of his anxious attention to very different subjects of discussion and inquiry.

An unknown writer in the Gentleman's Magazine speaks of him as 'a young nobleman, 'who gave the most intense application to busi- 'ness, and who had improved a great stock of 'natural parts and eloquence by the study of 'the ancients, and of the histories of other 'countries.' Smollett, mentioning him on his first taking part in the debates of the House of Commons as a valuable auxiliary acquired by the opposition, describes him as 'a nobleman 'of elegant parts, keen penetration, and un- 'common sagacity, who spoke with all the flu- 'ency and fervor of elocution.' But the most unequivocal testimony to his powers as a parliamentary speaker and debater is given by him who, by constantly feeling their weight, could best judge of their extent. We are told[1] that 'the minister (Sir Robert Walpole) 'used fre- 'quently to rally his sons, who were praising

[1] Note to Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 566, quarto edition.

'the speeches of Pulteney, Pitt, Lyttelton, and 'others, by saying, "You may cry up their '"speeches if you please; but when I have '"answered Sir John Barnard and Lord Pol-'"warth, I think I have concluded the debate.'"

Lord Bolingbroke, in writing to Sir William Wyndham in 1739, calls him that 'valuable, 'or rather invaluable young man, Polwarth;' and in a letter, dated 'New Year's Day, 1740,' he speaks thus to Sir William of the two brothers:—'The two young men, you name, have 'not only the principle, but the flame of pub-'lic virtue; and it is for that I admire and 'love them. . . . . I write to the Lord; 'make my best compliments to the other.' It is sufficiently clear, that Lord Bolingbroke, writing thus to Sir William Wyndham at that juncture, spoke of these brothers; but it is put out of doubt by a letter of his to Lord Polwarth, as it bears the same date.

Lord Polwarth's seat in the House of Commons became vacant on his succession to his father's title; and it is upon this occurrence, and on Sir William Wyndham's death, that Pope writes to him, that, 'if God had not given

'this nation to perdition, he would not have re-
'moved from its service those men, whose ca-
'pacity and integrity alone could have saved it.'
The new Earl had been much too formidable an antagonist to Sir Robert Walpole not to find the access to the House of Lords barred by every obstacle, which that minister, so attentive to the politics of parliament, could raise. He thus remained out of parliament several years, during which time it seems probable, that he occasionally wrote upon political affairs for want of other means of acting upon the public opinion. His Diary attests that his mind was still strongly interested in the weal of his country, and occupied in the passing transactions; and that when a pretender to the crown had got possession of our northern, and threatened our southern capital, it was no fault of his, if he did not imitate the example of his ancestors in staking his life in arms in the defence of the state.

The formation of the Broad-bottom Administration in 1744 removed the impediments to his supporting the government and taking office. In 1747, he was appointed First Lord of Po-

lice; in 1750, he was elected one of the sixteen Scots Representative Peers; and in 1764, he was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland. The House of Lords, in a defensive warfare, was perhaps a field of action less congenial to his talents and disposition, than the House of Commons had been in his earlier days; but he followed up the whole of its business, political, private, and judicial, with unwearied industry, and made himself master of all the forms, and of the course of the proceedings of the House. He remained in Parliament until the general election of the year 1784, when he was not re-elected one of the sixteen Representatives of the Scottish Peerage. His residence in England during the latter years of his life had put him out of the sight, and therefore, it is to be presumed, somewhat out of the mind, of his peers; he was seventy-six years of age; and the services we have seen of the aged will seldom outweigh those, which we look forward to from the young.

The Earl of Marchmont was married twice: the first time to Miss Anne Western, by whom

he had a son, who died young, and three daughters; the second time to Miss Elizabeth Crompton, by whom he had a son, Alexander Viscount Polwarth, who was created an English Peer by the title of Baron Hume. He died childless long before his father. The Countess de Grey[1] is his widow.

Lord Marchmont had not given himself up to political pursuits alone; he sought to maintain the 'mens sana in corpore sano' by constant exercise of both, in despite of years, when he retired from the world.

He was an accomplished and scientific horseman, and a theoretical and practical husbandman and gardener. He pursued his rides and his visits to his farm and his garden, as long as his strength would suffice for the exertion; and some hours of the forenoon, and frequently of the evening, were dedicated to his books. His most favourite studies appear to have been in the Civil Law, and the Laws of England and

[1] Her Ladyship is the daughter of the second Earl of Hardwicke and of the Marchioness de Grey, from whom she inherited the title of Baroness Lucas, and as whose representative she has since been created Countess de Grey.

Scotland, in the Records and History of the European Nations, and in Ancient History; and the traces of them are very unequivocal. The fruits of his labors, in extracts, observations, comparisons, and researches, all made in his own hand-writing, are not more to be admired than to be wondered at, as the results of the industry of one, who was stimulated neither by poverty nor by eagerness for literary celebrity. His Dutch education had given him method, which was the best possible auxiliary in exertion to an ardent and powerful mind, such as his was.

He had the good fortune not to survive his consort, and died at his seat, at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire, in the month of January, 1794, being then in the eighty-sixth year of his age. His vigorous intellects possessed their strength and acuteness undiminished by years; and the high and honorable feelings, which were so warmly eulogized by his distinguished friends in his youth, retained all their keenness to the last.

It may now be necessary to speak more particularly of the Papers of these respective Earls of Marchmont, which are in my possession.

Of the Papers of Earl Patrick, his narrative of the events of the Earl of Argyle's expedition, entitled by him, 'A Letter of Important Pas-'sages in anno 1685,' was printed by my late father in his 'Observations on Mr. Fox's histo-'rical work,' to which it indeed gave rise. I have also certain papers of his on public, and notes on his own affairs; but the great mass of his manuscripts consists of draughts, or copies of letters, written by him in discharge of official duties, or on matters affecting the interest of his country, when he was unemployed, or to his private correspondents. His letter to Sir William Denholm, which is printed here, was written from Utrecht, in 1688; the others begin soon after the Revolution; but the earliest of those printed in this collection in succession of dates is of the month of May 1696, when he was made Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

There are amongst the Marchmont Papers certain original letters written from Edinburgh by distinguished members of the Scottish par-

liament, during, or immediately after the discussions on the Union, one of which is directed to the Lord Treasurer, and the others were also evidently addressed to him, Lord Godolphin. I have no means of explaining, how they came there; I am under the same difficulty as to two[1] original letters from Lord Rivers, and one from Lord Galway, all of 1706; the two first of them from their context must also have been addressed to that minister; and the other is directed to 'My Lord Treasurer.'

The draughts or copies of Patrick Earl of Marchmont's letters are sometimes in his own hand-writing, sometimes in that of his secretaries. Parts of letters, and sometimes letters of his to Lord Seafield, Lord Tullibardin, and others, are in French; these are always written in by himself.

The Papers of Alexander Earl of Marchmont consist chiefly of a correspondence with the Court of Hanover; of his correspondence as Lord Lieutenant of Berwickshire whilst

[1] Of these one is not printed.

engaged in the suppression of the Rebellion of 1715; of his official correspondence during his embassies at Copenhagen and at Cambray; of letters relating chiefly to political events and to the conduct of the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's government, in which he was engaged from 1733 till his death in 1740; of occasional notes made by him during that period on the domestic politics of the day; and of his correspondence on private business.

On matters of domestic policy he was in epistolary intercourse with the Dukes of Argyle, Montrose, and Queensberry, Lords Stair, Chesterfield, Carteret, and Mr. Pulteney, &c.

The most important feature in the Papers of Hugh Earl of Marchmont is a Diary, which he kept during three different periods of peculiar interest in the reign of George the Second. The first extends from the latter end of July 1744 to the end of that year, and embraces the events, which led to the formation of what was called the Broad Bottom Administration, when Lord Carteret, who just then became Earl of Granville, was compelled to retire by the Pelhams,

the King consenting thereto very reluctantly; and when the Dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, and Dorset, and the Earls of Harrington and Chesterfield came into office. The second period begins in September 1745, when news had just been received in London, that the Pretender was near Edinburgh, and that it would probably be soon in his occupation. It closes in the February following with the extraordinary events of that month, the resignation of the Pelham ministry, and its re-establishment after the Earl of Bath's and the Earl of Granville's interregnum of three days. The third period commences in July 1747, and terminates in March 1748, soon after the Earl of Chesterfield's resignation and the Duke of Bedford's appointment to succeed him as Secretary of State.

There are moreover many letters addressed to this Earl of Marchmont by eminent persons, and particularly by Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, Pope, and Lord Bolingbroke, whose correspondence with him is by far the most voluminous, and it was with him that he lived in the closest intimacy. There are letters also from the Earl of Chesterfield, Sir William

Wyndham, and others. There are but very few draughts or copies of letters of his own. There is a considerable number of private letters addressed to him.

The mass of Marchmont Papers, which relate to public affairs, is so large, that it would be entirely inexpedient to print the whole of it. It would greatly exceed the bounds, which experience has set to such publications; and much of it has lost its interest in the present day.

It is necessary here to give a short account, first, of the views under which the present selection has been made, and then of their arrangement, in the order in which they will appear.

Very few letters on matters of purely private interest are given, and simply because I question the fitness of obtruding such upon the public. The few selected are such, as betray no confidence whatever respecting this distinguished family; their purport will explain, why they have been chosen. But as information is nowhere so agreeably conveyed as in private letters, so nowhere is instruction imparted so forcibly on all, that should regulate our conduct in life, whether

the responsibility be towards man or towards our Maker, as where it arises unbidden, and as of necessity from causes, which bring our principles and feelings into real action on our own affairs, and draw forth an expression of them more or less unreserved, at least always unconstrained by form. A small number of such private letters, which appear calculated to answer these ends, has in consequence been chosen [1].

Sir Patrick Hume's narrative of the Earl of Argyle's expedition is published anew in this collection. My father's work, in which it appeared, was in fact one of criticism, and from its nature could not have a very extensive and permanent circulation; and this collection would have been very incomplete without a memorial so honorable to its author, and of so much historical value.

[1] I may be permitted here to state, in consequence of a passage in Lady Murray's Memoirs of the Lady Grisell Baillie, in which mention is made of an unfortunate misunderstanding existing between her excellent mother towards the latter end of her life, and her nephews and nieces of Polwarth, that I have had the satisfaction not to have been able to discover one syllable in reference to it left in the correspondence of Hugh Earl of Marchmont.

His route from Exeter is also republished, as is a very interesting letter from the Earl of Stair to Alexander Earl of Marchmont of the 10th December 1736, both on account of other letters of his, which will be found here, and because the letter, which rendered it necessary for him to give the explanation it contains, is also printed.

The public taste must determine, how far the choice made of Patrick Earl of Marchmont's papers is judicious in point of extent. Had nothing been considered but the importance, which may be attached at this time in England alone to the events, to which they relate, the selection might have been much smaller. But Scotland, especially interested in her distinguished citizen, and in the period of her history with which he was deeply connected, had a juster and stronger claim, which forbad a very limited communication from his papers. But they possess an attraction which is of all times and countries. Patrick Earl of Marchmont combined in his character a rare assemblage of noble qualities; he possessed undaunted courage, unshaken firmness, great prudence, sagacity, and fore-

sight, quick feelings, and ardent affections—all under the guidance and control of a devoted piety; and such a mind will always create to itself a forcible language, for the pen is never cold, but when the heart is cold. The style is antiquated, but nervous and unaffected; for he had not more strength, than he had simplicity of character. And, setting aside the value of historical information, I cannot persuade myself, that the lessons of wisdom and virtue, which flow from his pen, will be unacceptable, because they are not conveyed in the smoother and more precise phraseology of our day.

It has been necessary to give extracts rather than copies of Patrick Lord Marchmont's correspondence in the greater number of cases, either to avoid repetitions of things said in other letters of the same date, or details of business, which would now be tiresome and uninteresting.

None of Alexander Earl of Marchmont's diplomatic letters are now published, except an extract from one in a note. They form a very voluminous separate body of correspondence, which it would be difficult to blend with that, which is now offered of his, or to give use-

fully in abridgment or in extracts, at least at present.

It is not intended to publish any of the letters addressed to Hugh Earl of Marchmont, of a later date than the year 1750. Lord Bolingbroke's last letter is of that year; he died in the one following. The reasons for this limit of time will be stated.

With respect to the order, in which these papers ought to be published, it is obvious, that if the letters on public affairs were found in anything like a continued series in point of time, they should be printed in succession, according to their dates. But this is by no means the case. From the time at which Patrick Earl of Marchmont went out of office in 1702, excepting those which regard the Union, there are but few in number of that description to the time of his death in 1724.

During the embassies of Alexander Earl of Marchmont, his letters relate mainly to the particular matters of foreign politics, with which he was charged; and it is not till the year 1733, when he went into opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, and began his regular home political

life, that his letters on public business, or those addressed to him, assume anything like the shape of a body of correspondence. There are several letters from the Duke of Montrose, the Duke of Queensberry, from Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, from Lord Stair, Lord Carteret, Lord Chesterfield, Mr. Pulteney, &c., addressed to him, of which the earliest date from that year; and there are some interesting notes of his on matters, that were within his cognizance, which come usefully in aid of them.

The letters extant addressed to his son and successor, Hugh Earl of Marchmont, begin just before his death; so that if these letters addressed to him from 1733 are taken together with those addressed to that son up to the year 1750, they will form a mass of authentic information on the history of this country, which, if not wholly continuous, at least is free from such disruptions, as would much weaken its interest, or interrupt inconveniently the course of it. Upon the whole therefore it has been deemed expedient to make the papers relating to that period the first and most prominent feature of this publication; and the Diary is

placed in the front, as having preferably an historical character. It has moreover an especial historical value, as there is perhaps no sort of document, which has so strong a claim upon our belief, as that note of things done or heard, which a man writes down at the end of each day; he cannot then forget of whom he learnt them, or in what words, and how far he believed them; and making this record to aid his own memory, he has every inducement to do it faithfully. A reference to this Diary will shew, from what high sources the last Lord Marchmont drew the materials for it; his industry and acuteness were such, that it was not easy to impose upon him; and such was the consideration he enjoyed, and so unquestioned his honorable feelings and principles, that few would have liked or ventured to attempt it.

It is proposed therefore to throw those papers of Alexander Earl of Marchmont of an historical character, which have been selected, but which do not belong to the period specified, to the end of the volume containing the correspondence of that time. A few miscellaneous papers will close the collection.

It has been much the usage in such publications to place the whole correspondence of each person together; but I have preferred to arrange all the letters indiscriminately according to their dates. The historical information upon each event is thus given in a mass, and not disjointedly; and the different representations of it, when thus collected, will best assist or correct each other. But there is an advantage of another nature which this plan affords. The satiety engendered by a constant recurrence of the same style, and by a reiterated represensentation of the same character and mind is avoided; and attention and curiosity are kept alive by the contrasts and variety offered.

In Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative, and in his Diary made during his march from Exeter to London, the spelling of the manuscripts has been retained, because they were so printed originally, excepting that the abbreviations have been removed. In the other papers, which appear in this work, the modern orthography, as settled by Johnson's dictionary, is followed. An inspection of the originals would give ample proof, what endless varieties of letters were

employed by our forefathers in the composition of the same word, before that standard was given and conformed to. It may be doubted, whether the letter of a nobleman, who was a Knight of the Thistle in the beginning of the last century, could be decyphered by his present descendant and representative. In the French correspondence the orthography of the originals is adhered to, although differing from that introduced by Voltaire and now in use, because it was classical and universally established at the time, when they were written. In a narrative given in French, which will be found amongst the Miscellaneous papers, so many corrections in idiom and construction were found necessary, that it was deemed expedient to give it entirely the garb of the modern language.

Besides other considerations, which determine the measure and the manner of the publication of family papers, where they treat of political subjects, that of the time, at which it should take place, requires especial attention. Such papers, whether written in confidence, or kept under lock and key by their author, will

always treat of men and things with a freedom from reserve, which, should they come into circulation within a few years of their date, will cause them to serve rather as provocatives to, and as matters of personal and party discussion and contest, than as materials for sound and impartial history. But besides this, very great weight ought and must be given to the feelings of persons standing in a near degree of relationship to those, whose actions are narrated, or commented on. I say a near degree, because there is an obvious measure of this forbearance. Great sacrifices are due to the just and natural sensibilities of the widow, the father, the brother, and the child; but as the character of every man, who enters public life, becomes of necessity a public property, if his family may be considered to have a certain exclusive posthumous vested interest in it, it is one, which should be restrained within definite, and not over ample bounds of time and propinquity. The most recent paper of those now published bears the date of the year 1750: a lapse of eighty years, as it exceeds the natural boundaries of human life, appears to be a safe limit

of the time of their being kept unpublished. It will have carried all the actors off the scene, and nearly in every instance their immediate descendants. In the present case I know but of a single individual of English origin in existence, whose father played a part in the events recorded in the Marchmont Papers now published; but that person, the designation of whose family has become a word of power, and whose heart and mind must be ever full of recollections of the father and the brother,—of the 'mighty dead' who bore it, and whom it has been his lot to survive and to mourn,—he can entertain no fear, that any revelation of facts unknown can cast a blight upon it, or on the hallowed memory of one so honored, so revered as his immediate ancestor. There is no wind from any quarter of the sky, that can waft the name of that father to the ears of the son of William Earl of Chatham, that will not be grateful and refreshing as an 'air from heaven.'

I am not aware, that of Scottish blood there is now in life the son of any one engaged in the transactions here recorded, except the head

of an illustrious house of that kingdom. The father and the grandfather of that nobleman were strictly united in friendship and political co-operation with Alexander and Hugh Earls of Marchmont, whose papers, the unpublished as well as the published, bear so uniform a testimony respecting those distinguished persons to their conspicuous patriotism, and to that high private worth, which has so long distinguished the family of the heroic Montrose, that I am conscious, I should have erred in the suppression of their names.

But there is an act of stewardship with respect to the Marchmont Papers, some time since exercised by me, of which I have to give an account. My attention was attracted by its appearance of superior antiquity to a manuscript, which proved on examination to be the original of Sir James Melville's Memoirs, a literary and historical treasure long lost, recovered, but lost again immediately, and long, anxiously, and fruitlessly sought for, under circumstances which attached a peculiar value to it. An edition of it, printed by that patriotic institution, the Bannatyne Club, at whose dis-

posal I placed it for that purpose, has fulfilled my views of preserving it to Scotland in her ancient dialect, and in an authentic shape. No one could explain, how it came to be amongst the Marchmont Papers, or indeed knew, that it was there. One remarkable circumstance has been ascertained by the discovery of these Memoirs. The author of the preface to the Bannatyne edition, whose authority is unquestioned, when speaking of the many 'mistakes and 'perversions of the author's meaning,' which are now found to exist in the English version of them published by George Scott of Pitlochie, a grandson of Sir James Melville, in 1683, observes, that 'of these the greater part must 'have been owing to an imperfect knowledge 'of the antiquated words and phrases of the 'Scottish dialect of Melville's age.' Sir James died in 1617; there elapsed therefore between his decease and Scott's publication of his Memoirs sixty-six years. And it is an extraordinary fact, arising no doubt from the translation of the Court from Edinburgh to London, that this short period of time, in despite of the pulpit and of the bar, should have rendered the

classical language of Scotland of James the First's days thus far unintelligible to an educated Scotsman of Charles the Second's. An Englishman may however soon learn to read the original with tolerable facility, especially with the aid of French and German. Melville indeed compels us to seek the assistance of both those languages in the course of very few words, when he makes the Earl of Bothwell say, in giving an account of Darnley's death, that 'the fouder cam out of the luft!'

Some alarm may possibly be excited by the appearance of any additional publication of writings of Lord Bolingbroke, under the fear that they may be to the prejudice of the cause of religion. But such an apprehension would be unfounded. As far as Lord Bolingbroke here speaks of religion, it is as having thought[1] himself into it; though in what precise shape, and to what extent, it would not be easy for

[1] He speaks of those, who have thought themselves into religion, in such a manner as to indicate himself as of the number. —See Lord Bolingbroke's Letter to Hugh Earl of Marchmont of the 3d of August 1740.

the least suspicious reader to deduce, from what he says. But he whose just mistrust is awakened by the knowledge of the direct tendency of his Lordship's posthumous works, or who shall seek traces of Christianity by its effects upon the mode and habit of thinking, will conclude with little hesitation, that the real, although unavowed and disguised result of his cogitations was that religion of Nature, to the simplicity of which he constantly endeavors in his works to draw our attention. Yet I know not where such an observer can discover in these letters any one thing in the shape of wit, argument, or allegation of fact, that could alarm, or injure the feeblest Christian.

It may be truly said, that if Lord Bolingbroke thought fit to assume a certain semblance of religion, yet that some of the best evidences of its existence, its fruits of hope, peace of mind, and resignation under the moral and physical evils of life, were never borne to him: and the spectacle he offers to us, of embittered feelings, of perpetually querulous old age and infirmity, and of restless and frus-

trated ambition, appears admirably calculated to induce us to seek a better support under a load of years, sickness, and disappointment, than any which he had discovered either in his first, or any other philosophy.

But if it is in that view advantageous to those, who earnestly appreciate and hold to that better support, that we should possess the exhibition of his mind, thus delineated by his own hand, considered as a portrait standing by itself, still more to their advantage will it be, if it be placed by the side of that picture of a nobler and a grander character, whose features we trace in the letters of Patrick Earl of Marchmont. And as these two remarkable men thus present themselves to our sight, the most interesting and instructive moment of comparison will be, when they were living under the most similar circumstances of trial,—when each had disappointment, exclusion from office and the legislature, old age and weakness to endure. The rationalist is bent down, and groans beneath his burden, cold in his affections, soured at heart, and so full of aver-

sions, that at times he is even unable to conceal that towards his country[1], from which he does not appear to be wholly free. His words, in truth, are lofty and sonorous; but they are empty; and the feelings, from which they flow, are narrow and frigid; the canker of extravagant and deluded hopes is upon all he utters. But we cannot for a moment mistake the sincerity of the cheerful submission and resignation, with which the Christian statesman sustains his allotted weight of suffering or mortification; his heart overflows with kindness to all, who have a claim for it, and with the warmest charities; he fulfils zealously every public duty, which he is permitted to undertake; and he labors as earnestly for the weal of the state, and with as much anxious forethought

[1] His country was never in a state so degraded as that, to which he aided materially to reduce her, when he and Lord Oxford stopped that victorious career of the Duke of Marlborough, which was about to bring France within limits compatible with the safety of Europe, and concluded the disgraceful peace of Utrecht. Even his talents do not enable him to make anything like a colorable defence of those deplorable transactions, nor to explain to our understandings, how men of their acknowledged abilities could possibly, of their own free-will and choice, have engaged themselves in them.

for its most important interests, when his services are rejected by his country, as when she confided to him the highest employments. The character is sound, and firm, and vigorous in all its parts; a pure and animating spirit pervades the whole.

One cause of a resignation which Lord Bolingbroke professes, but never practises, is a strange one: he says, 'I never thought, that 'my importance deserved the interpositions of 'particular providences, and have therefore 'learned never to grumble at those contin- 'gencies, which must happen under a general 'Providence.' Surely, the difficulty would be to reconcile oneself to evils endured under the government of an Almighty Being, who, having once set a system of things in motion on general laws, allowed this or that man to be crushed by their effects, without interposition in his behalf. Whereas, if we believe in his other attributes of perfect wisdom, mercy, and justice, and that all that relates to us, even individually, is within his cognizance and control, we must be assured, that his most afflicting dispensations are strictly compatible with them, and are guided by them.

I would next ask of those, who shall have perused these volumes, whether they will regard as a warning beacon to dabblers in philosophy, or as allurements dangerous to the wavering Christian, the Duchess of Marlborough's speculations on the soul and on future rewards and punishments. In truth, her Grace's

——— somnia Pythagorea

furnish a predicament, which would be laughable, if it were not lamentable. She indeed makes no attack on Holy Writ, nor does she impugn its authority; she appears in fact not to have a suspicion of its very existence; she has trodden her way back to Grecian philosophers for illumination; and we behold her in her eighty-second year there alone short-sighted and confused in her views, where it behoved her the most, that they should be clear and determinate, floundering desperately in a bottomless morass, and enveloped in a more than Batavian fog of her own creation, without a chance of extrication, and without an idea crossing her mind, that there is an highway close at hand, which

she might follow with ease and security, and which would bring her in the broad light of day to the point, to which she was tending.

It is hardly possible for any one to read the records of a former day as attentively, as an editor of them must do, without forming decided opinions on the matters narrated; but in the few notes, which are subjoined, I have striven, as far as I could, to keep mine out of sight, because, in my view, the obtrusion of them would be out of time and place. It appears to me, that whilst endeavoring to add to the mass of evidence submitted to the public mind, in order to enable it to pass a just and enlightened verdict on the guidance of affairs of state by our forefathers, I should diminish the chance of the utility of this attempt, were I, when offering occasional elucidations of the text, to presume to exercise the functions of a counsel or a judge. And I confess, that they are functions, which, with reference to the period embraced in the correspondence now published of Alexander and Hugh Earls of Marchmont, I rejoice to escape.

The religion of the country was at a very low ebb; if the 'young flood,' if a revival of it, had begun, it was in such a quarter, and in such a shape, as to have been scarcely perceptible. What that ebb was, the unsightly objects, which the receding waters left visible, would prove.

The most authoritative and important sanctions and protection of the public morals were wanting. Disunion and discord prevailed throughout, and weakened alike the hands of those, who defended, and of those, who assailed the citadel of power. The views, under which the greatest affairs of the state were conducted, were often limited and selfish, or oblique, and the measures employed to give them effect worthy of the ends contended for. That a nation may exist in weal and in honor, it must have within itself a sufficiency of the means of waging war or of maintaining peace, both through its internal resources and through its foreign alliances. And the experience of the results produced, both abroad and at home, by the administrative system pursued during those years will afford the fair and just measure of its value.

If Sir Robert Walpole acted wisely in sacrificing the continental policy of this country, as interfering with his cultivation of its domestic prosperity and strength, how are we to understand why, when at length it entered into hostilities, voluntarily to say the least, with a less powerful and most vulnerable foe, it neither knew how, nor was able to carry them on effectually? At home, independently of due military precautions, every consideration of external and internal policy should have led the government to exert itself to new-model the minds and the interests, indeed nearly the whole civil existence of the Scots Highlanders, a great proportion of whose clans were in fact in their fastnesses an army, and a chain of fortresses in the hands of the House of Stuart; and yet, after thirty years' occupation of the throne by the House of Hanover, when the fire was applied to that mine of disaffection to the reigning dynasty, it exploded with a force, that had nearly rent the empire in twain. The fearful exploits of a handful of undisciplined, ill-armed men, and the panic terror, which seized and scattered the heroic 'regulated bands' of Britain, who never

before knew so degrading an influence, complete the picture of our deplorable weakness as well as of want of foresight. In the long continental war one battle alone was successful, and even that was an escape. The ministers were as ignorant of due preparations and measures of warfare, as of the time and conditions of peace. But when there are laid before us the causes, why that war was protracted for years under idle hopes and fallacious calculations, whilst our political and military position was continually deteriorating, we see them existing mainly in that debility prevailing in the British Cabinet, which would have vanished before the presence of a controlling, superior mind, had such there been, both competent to repress and to coerce, as well as to direct and to inspire. When in that same reign, amidst extensive and complicated hostilities, there arose a man qualified to preside over the councils of Great Britain, not in name only but in effect, gifted with sagacity, genius, vigor, and decision, whose high and noble feelings carried with him the sympathies of his countrymen, and whose honor and private virtues

made their esteem, their respect, and their confidence, his possession and property, it was soon discovered, that it was not the sword, but the arm of Scanderbeg that had been wanting.

But even in those days, there was a germ, although unheeded, of better things. There existed in that generation, though but in boyhood, a prince, whose manhood was to give a bright example of morals growing out of religious persuasion, of prudence, firmness, and most conscientious rule, and who was born to command the affections and veneration of his people; and there existed in it a subject, then powerful, it is true, by his voice in the senate, but at times excluded from, at others laboring in the ranks of inferior office, who was destined to breathe a new spirit of wisdom and vigor into the counsels of his country, and to wield her power with resistless energy.

It cannot now be foreseen, whether it may be expedient at any future time to publish others of the Marchmont Papers: should this be done, they will be printed uniformly with the present collection, as a continuation of it.

To obviate any remark which may be made, that a notice, which has appeared of this intended publication, did not define it correctly, I should state, that it so happened, that I was not privy to it, or aware of it. The space of time embraced in this collection exceeds considerably that specified in it.

G. H. ROSE.

London,
July 1st, 1830.

THE DEFENCE

OF

PATRICK EARL OF MARCHMONT.

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HOWEVER favorable may be the impression respecting the talents and sagacity of Patrick Earl of Marchmont, resulting from the perusal of his letters, neither wisdom nor eloquence can speak to us with authority from his correspondence, so long as his memory is loaded with the foul calumny, which history has, as rashly as unjustly, cast upon it, in charging him, and circumstantially too, as well as other eminent Scotsmen, with having sold himself to England, and promoted the Union between the two kingdoms, not even under selfish and unprincipled inducements, of which the visible baseness might be somewhat obscured by their ministering to our blinding passions of pride or

ambition, but for mere hard money, under a bargain, said in his case to have been so closely driven, that when the tempter paid him an odd sum of sixteen shillings, his Lordship had to reimburse to him five-pence in copper as change.

Were the antiquity and obscurity of this matter such as to preclude investigation, I think, I might appeal successfully to the whole course of the public life of this distinguished man as incompatible with his accessibility to so vile an influence.

Living in an age when the religion and liberties of his country were exposed to imminent dangers, Sir Patrick Hume stepped forward undauntedly from the ranks of his fellow-citizens to devote both life and fortune to the assertion of them; and, fair as was his cause, it was not more honorable than the means, by which he maintained it. He bore unmoved imprisonment, and persecution aimed at his life, which was saved by flight from his native land, and then the forfeiture of his inheritance. But the strongest proof, how entirely his sense of public duty was enthroned in his conscience,

is given by determinations of his, which must have been painful beyond all others to one of morals so unsullied, of a piety so ardent and enlightened as his, and whose mild, and most affectionate disposition, and the strength of whose attachments to his family are forcibly depicted in its records. This man, the whole of whose actions attest, that they were performed under the guidance of the most purified principles of the human mind, could never have broken down all the moral obstacles, which opposed themselves to his desperate resolve, twice executed, of drawing the sword against the government under which he lived, had he not been urged to so extreme a purpose by convictions of no ordinary power, that thus alone was his country to be saved.

But in temptations by prosperity, as well as by adversity, in times less trying, and in a later day, when he was Lord Chancellor of Scotland, we learn, that the experienced statesman had escaped that baleful effect of receding years, which so often forces itself painfully upon our sight, an honesty waning in courage and in firmness with our strength; and we find his

truth and his integrity still bearing the same ascendancy over his actions.

In his letter to Queen Anne written on the death of King William, which breathes so strongly the spirit of a dutiful and loyal servant, and of a high-minded citizen, although he must have known but too well, how grating such language would be to her ears, he laments the loss of the best of masters, because his heart overflowed towards him with uncontrollable gratitude and admiration.

In the very first session after her accession, he, still Lord Chancellor, seeing that whilst in England the succession to its throne was secured by law to the House of Hanover, and that nothing to the same effect had been done with respect to the Crown of Scotland, and feeling justly, that powerful as was the House of Stuart at home and abroad, its possession of that kingdom would infallibly undo the mighty work, his share in which had been the main labor and glory of his life, as the palladium of the civil and religious liberties of the empire, he presented an Act for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales; and the Lord High

Commissioner could find no other means of extricating the government, which was manœuvring under selfish views, from the difficulties in which this measure placed him, but in proroguing the Parliament, 'in order to prevent 'farther contest and debate' in its bosom. But could the discretion of this conduct of Lord Marchmont, as represented by a political adversary[1], be questioned, its honesty cannot, as it was impossible but that he should foresee, that his eminent employment must be, as it was, the price he would have to pay for his inflexible adherence to a purpose dictated to him by his principles. He has however ably defended the motives he acted under; and events justified his foresight.

It were difficult to imagine features of the private and of the public life of a man, which give more incontrovertible assurances, not only of an honesty, which had been so often refined in the fire as to be pure from every base alloy, but that he was such an one, that the boldest

[1] See Memoirs by George Lockhart, Esq. of Carnwath, whom Tindal follows. Lockhart was in the Scots, and afterwards in the English parliament.

of seducers would not have dared to proffer to him the wages of corruption.

I confess myself to be a very reluctant advocate for the impregnability of any human integrity, which does not rest on its only sure foundation, religious conviction; but on that rock Lord Marchmont's was built. His piety was both the animating and the regulating principle of all his actions; it gave him guidance, and hope, and consolation from his entrance into life to the moment of its close.

But his virtues were too often brought into action on great and trying occasions to have escaped the notice of his contemporaries, or of an after-age. They have indeed received brilliant and repeated testimonies, of which I shall cite but one of the latest; but it is powerful on account of the splendid talents and eminent reputation of him, who bore it, and of his having been called to examine with particular attention a very conspicuous transaction, in which Lord Marchmont acted a prominent part. It is in the historical work of Mr. Fox, who bestows upon him in few words the highest praise a citizen can earn, by saying of him, as Sir

Patrick Hume, that 'he is proved, by the whole 'tenor of his life and conduct, to have been 'uniformly zealous and sincere in the cause of 'his country.'

There is however another ground of defence of Lord Marchmont of a wholly different nature, which appears to be unassailable; but still I shall by no means rest finally upon it as conclusive; after submitting it, I shall proceed to the specific accusation. If he alone is to be considered pure, who has never been solicited to evil, and if the virtue of him alone is to be admitted to be secure,

Quem nemo rogavit,

it is not difficult to show, that his could have been submitted to no trial on this occasion, and that therefore it may be confidently asserted. No man goes into the market to purchase an article, which he has already in hand and of free gift. And this must have been especially true in the present case, where the sum alleged to have been expended in bribery was so pitifully and absurdly small as was that ultimately left at the disposal of the government of Scotland for no less a purpose than that of purchasing a majority in its legislative body. That government

moreover was obliged to beg and borrow this sum from another state; and its plea for so doing proves its utter destitution of pecuniary resources. With respect to the measure of the Union, Lord Marchmont much rather gave the impulse to Queen Anne's ministers than received it from them, as is shewn by his correspondence. Considering that Union as indispensable for the security of the Protestant succession and for the maintenance of the constitution as established at the Revolution, he had pledged himself by the nature and language of his communications to public men, long before it was brought forward, as its devoted and most anxious friend. His letters abundantly testify this, and farther, that he not only urged and stimulated the leading English whigs, Lord Somers and Lord Wharton, to their utmost exertions in its favor, but materially promoted it in one of the earliest stages of the transaction by the wisdom of his counsels. It is obvious, that the selection of the commissioners, who were to treat on the part of the two nations, was a matter of incalculable importance to its success, but most especially that of the Scottish negotiators, as it was in their country alone, that the national and

party feelings and interests opposed very serious obstacles. It was in his recommendation of the principle, on which that selection should be made, one which could not have been discerned but by an acute, liberal, and comprehensive mind, and which was evidently adopted and acted on, that he shewed his eminent sagacity and deep knowledge of mankind. In his letters[1] to England he urges the choice of the most considerable men, provided they were whigs, and therefore friends to the Revolution, but such alone, with disregard of their feelings respecting an incorporating Union, as hostile to it or not, as the surest means of attaining the object in view. I will not anticipate the reasonings he employs to enforce his proposal; but we learn from Lockhart to how great an extent it was acted on. Speaking of the commissioners he says, that of the thirty-one Scottish 'all were of the court or whig interest except himself,' an ardent Jacobite, an exception only made in the hope of gaining him through

[1] See more particularly his letters to the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Argyle, and to the late Lord Register, all of the 29th December, 1705, and especially the latter.

his uncle Lord Wharton. Tindal testifies to the success of this counsel, though he mistakes the author of it: he says, 'The Scots commis-'sioners were so strangely chosen, that from 'thence many men concluded, that an Union 'was not sincerely designed by the ministry, 'when they saw such a nomination.' His subsequent description of some of them seems to differ from Lockhart's; but as Lockhart was one of their number, his must be decisive evidence as to what they were. Tindal afterwards says, 'The Earl of Stair, who heartily con-'curred in the design, was thought to have had 'a hand in this piece of policy, in which the 'event shewed, that right measures were taken.'

In this and in all other matters nothing could be more consistent than Lord Marchmont's parliamentary conduct. In the session of 1702, when he was a member of the government, and saw that its measures fell short of those, which he deemed indispensable for the maintenance of the Revolution, the main object of his political existence, he thwarted them, and forfeited his office. That he vigorously and effectually pursued that object in the session of 1703, is

attested by its history, which shews, to what extent the government was obliged to concede to his views, and to those of his friends on matters essentially affecting it. But when, in accordance with his principles and ardent wishes, it brought forward the measure of the Union, he, one of the leaders of the independent party or squadron, gave it his unqualified support; and one of his papers proves, by an examination of the votes on each question, that it was by the aid of that 'Squadron' that each separate difficulty was overcome.

I will now state succinctly the facts of the case. Smollett in his History of England, treating of the discussions on the Union in the Scottish parliament, thus expresses himself: 'They (the leaders who supported the measure) 'found means, partly by their promises and 'partly by corruption, to bring over the Earls 'of Roxburgh and Marchmont, with the whole 'squadron, who had hitherto been unpropitious 'to the Court.' He says afterwards in the same paragraph: 'These (their) remonstrances 'were reinforced by the sum of 20,000*l*., which 'the Queen privately lent to the Scottish Trea-

'sury, and which was now distributed by the 'ministry in such a manner, as might best con- 'duce to the success of the treaty. By these 'practices they diminished, though they could 'not silence, the clamor of the people, and ob- 'tained a considerable majority in parliament, 'which outvoted all opposition.' But as he neither furnishes proofs, nor cites authorities in support of allegations, which are of a nature above all others to require them, I shall proceed to Tindal's continuation of Rapin's History of England, where the like accusation of Lord Marchmont, as well as of others, is brought distinctly forward, upon what has at least a semblance of evidence, but which however has been very unfairly given to it by the author. There can be no doubt moreover but that he and Smollett drew from the same source, though the latter does not refer to it. But if I can dispose of Tindal's inculpation, Smollett's, such as it is, falls to the ground, as far as Lord Marchmont is concerned; and there, as to what relates to him, I hope to leave both those historians. In Tindal's work, which has the reputation of fidelity, and which must often be

referred to for want of a better, it is stated, that Lord Godolphin, then Lord Treasurer, was informed of the apprehensions entertained in Scotland, that it would not be practicable to carry the measure of the Union in its parliament without giving rise to a national convulsion, and was advised to delay the measure, until the existing difficulties might be surmounted, but replied, that delay was equivalent to abandonment of the measure. The historian adds, that the circumstances of the time being favorable, France being unable to succour such, as might rise in arms, and due military precautions having been taken, 'The 'Lord Godolphin desired therefore, that they '(the government in Scotland) would go on, and 'not be alarmed at the foolish behaviour of 'some, who, whatever might be given out in 'their name, he believed, had more wit than 'to ruin themselves.' To this passage is appended the following note: 'Besides the pre-'cautions used to preserve the public tran-'quillity, and protect the well-affected from 'the insults of the mal-contents, other methods 'were employed to remove the obstacles which

'the Union met with in the House (the Scot-
'tish parliament). The Lord Godolphin pre-
'vailed with the Queen to lend her Scots Trea-
'sury the sum of 20,000*l.*, which the Earl of
'Glasgow is said to distribute to the best ad-
'vantage, and for which he some years after
'accounted with the Commissioners of Public
'Accounts. Lockhart gives a list of the per-
'sons, to whom the Earl declared upon oath he
'distributed the money.' Then follows this list, with the sums represented to have been paid to each person opposite to their respective names. The sum total distributed amounts, instead of 20,000*l.*, to 20,540*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* The name of the Earl of Marchmont stands the first; and the sum opposite to it is 1104*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* This charge of corruption is thus naked and positive; and resting apparently on an official document, it has, I know, obtained credence of persons of much discernment and of no easy faith. It is evidently founded on the Appendix to Lockhart's Memoirs; and yet, if that Appendix had been fully and faithfully quoted, the whole transaction would have assumed a very different color, and Lord Marchmont and some others, on the

author's own shewing, would have stood distinctly free of the charge. These historians are the more deserving of condemnation, because Lockhart, well known as one of the commissioners for the treaty, and a member of the Scottish and then of the British parliament, was so notoriously a devoted partisan of the Stuart family, that he might have been safely trusted to have ascertained completely the facts making against his political antagonists, and neither to have withheld them, nor to have drawn overcharitable inferences from them.

It appears on a reference to the Journals of the House of Commons, that a commission for taking, examining, and stating the public accounts of the kingdom, with orders to report upon them, was formed on the 19th March 1710, by the House choosing seven of its own members by ballot to be such commissioners; and they examined on oath[1]. We may appreciate the spirit, in which they were selected, from the circumstance, that we even now know two

[1] This was done no doubt under the 9th of Queen Anne, chap. 13, of which, as it is an expired law, nothing but the preamble exists in the Statutes at Large.

of the seven, Lockhart and Shippen, to have been the most undisguised Jacobites in that assembly. A close search in those Journals has furnished various proofs, how very carelessly and negligently the entries were then made in them, and this one in particular, that the Report upon this sum of 20,000*l.* is not contained in them. But they give the evidence of the repayment by the Duke of Queensberry of that part of the 20,540*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*, which he received for equipage and daily allowance as high commissioner, that is, 12,325*l.* We are therefore obliged to receive Lockhart's account of this matter, as he is pleased to give it, in lieu of the main official document. The commission was constituted in the Earl of Oxford's administration in the utmost hostility to Lord Godolphin, and with a view to discover the means of criminating him; and Lockhart was its reporter to the House in this particular instance.

The most material features of the case, as represented by him in that Appendix, are these:—the English Treasury advanced 20,000*l.* to that of Scotland in the month of August, 1706; and on the 3rd of October following that

session of the Scottish parliament was opened, in which 'the Act for ratifying and approving 'the Treaty of Union of the two kingdoms of 'Scotland and England' was passed. It made that advance on a representation from the Scottish government, which alleged, that its funds 'were entirely exhausted, and pre-engaged for 'some time to come, so that there then re-'mained nothing for defraying the charges of their 'government, or paying the debts of the Civil 'List;' and the Queen's letter announcing this advance ordered, that it should be applied to defray the charges of her government, and to the payment in some measure of such part of the debts of the Civil List, as should be directed by particular warrants. The Scots ministers afterwards wrote from Edinburgh to say, that the Government could not subsist without this loan, but suggested means of keeping it out of sight, lest the knowledge of it before the opening of the session should enable the opponents to the Union to employ it hostilely against that measure. They also suggested, that only 10,000*l.* should be sent at first, and a mode of payment which would escape observation. But though Lockhart gives

both the letters thus written, he does not furnish their dates. They afterwards wrote to request, that the remaining 10,000*l.* might be sent, saying, 'that they had been obliged to 'give promises to several persons for a consi- 'derable part of arrears, and that without that 'sum they should be disappointed, which might 'prove of bad consequence; and that in the 'mean time no money to be remitted should be 'employed but for the Commissioner's daily 'allowance, the payment of the salaries of the 'other servants, and in payment of a part of 'the debts upon the Civil List since her Ma- 'jesty's accession to the Crown.'

It is to be assumed from Lockhart's statement of, and arguments on this matter, that no part of this sum was paid, excepting what the High Commissioner, and the Messenger, who brought down the Treaty of Union, received, otherwise than on the ground of arrears due from the State, whether justly or unjustly alleged. He tells us, that the Commissioners of Accounts in their report to parliament observe, that if the money had been applied to the pretended purpose, there could have been no such

occasion for so much caution and jealousy as appear upon the face of this proceeding. He says, that indeed some men seemed to wonder, that a payment of just debts could be reckoned a fault, and least of all a bribe to members of parliament. To this he replies, that often, nay for the most part, all pensions and employments have been given, and continued, to procure friends as instruments, but that in Scotland pensions were 'seldom or never paid, but as 'a particular favor, and upon particular views;' and that, all the circumstances of this case being taken into consideration, it must be concluded, that this money was distributed for those ends of corruption, which he denounces. It may here be observed, that all this reasoning proves, that the ostensible purpose was ostensibly at least adhered to; a departure from it would have rendered these inferences and conclusions wholly unnecessary and superfluous. He then pursues his argument thus: 'but what 'follows puts this matter beyond all manner of 'controversy; for the Commissioners of Ac-'counts having required from the Auditors of 'Exchequer in Scotland an account of all pen-

'sions and salaries, due at any time from the 'Queen's accession to the Throne to the com- 'mencement of the Union to the persons con- 'tained in the aforesaid account exhibited by 'the Earl of Glasgow, and a particular account 'of all payments, and the time when made, to 'such persons, on account of such pensions and 'salaries, it did appear from the returns, that 'several of those persons, such as the Dukes 'of Montrose and Roxburgh, Sir Kenneth Mac Kenzie, the Earl of Balcarres, Patrick Coul- 'train, John Minto, the Lords Fraser, Banff, 'and Elibank, had no manner of claim, all, that 'they on such pretence could have demanded, 'being paid to and discharged by them a con- 'siderable time before the distribution of this 'money; and others, such as the Dukes of 'Queensberry and Athol, Lords Eglinton and 'Anstruther, Mr. Stuart of Castlestuart, Lord 'Prestonhall, and the Marquis of Tweeddale, 'gave no acquittance for, nor is there any no- 'tice taken in the records of the Treasury 'of the money, they thus received from the 'Earl of Glasgow; so that in a few months 'thereafter, when they obtained certificates from

'the Lords of the Treasury of what was due to 'them on account of arrears of pensions and 'salaries, some of them had no regard at all, 'and others only in part, to what they had re- 'ceived from the Earl of Glasgow; and being 'thus entitled to the full of their arrears out of 'the equivalent, many were consequently twice 'paid in whole or in part. These facts being 'undoubtedly true, it evidently appears, that 'what was given in either of these cases must 'have been with some other view, and on some 'other pretence than arrears of pensions and 'salaries.'

Having thus exhibited his case, he proceeds to an inculpation of the Duke of Queensberry, which will be noticed elsewhere.

Now thus much is evident from the passage above quoted, and 'beyond controversy,' that it is the main allegation, on which essentially rests his proof of 'this matter,' that is, of the whole charge, excepting the branch of it affecting the High Commissioner; and if the facts are true, it goes to prove, that some persons were paid on account of arrears, which had been already paid, and that others were paid for

arrears which were actually due, for they were afterwards certified by the Treasury, but did not give receipts, so that some part of their arrears were paid a second time. There runs through the whole of this final demonstration the supposition of arrears once or then due; and it is incompatible with the supposition of payments made on any other alleged ground, exclusive of that to the Duke of Queensberry. The whole ultimate charge against *all* the accused is, that some had been already paid on claims brought forward by them, and were thus on the same claims paid a second time, and that others, who on substantiated claims were paid at this time, were afterwards paid in whole, or in part a second time; and the supposition of there having been persons paid, who had neither past, nor present claims to arrears, is excluded.

But it is undoubtedly sure, that there was no such description of participators in the sum in question. The most openly disgraceful conduct of the government in paying this money, and of individuals in receiving it, would have consisted in there having been cases of persons sharing in it, who had neither past nor present claims to rest

on in any way; it would have been palpable unvarnished corruption; no surmises or inferences would have been required to establish it; and it could have admitted of no defence. The Commissioners of Accounts were empowered to compel the production of papers and accounts, to bring persons before them, and to examine them on oath; Mr. Lockhart was the most eager of them on the scent; and Lord Glasgow and Sir David Nairn were both alive. Had the accuser then had in his hands one single fact of such a practice admitting of proof, he had in them the power to overwhelm with shame both Lord Godolphin and the Scots promoters of the Union,—the objects of his impassioned party hatred. He has cited no such fact; and it therefore must be incontestably sure, that of such he was not the master.

The question then, as thus examined and brought to its point as affecting each individual upon Lockhart's own grounds, reduces itself simply to this,—whether he is comprised in either of the two classes of those, who are said by him to have been twice paid their arrears; if he is not, be they innocent or guilty,

he is absolved. Let it next be asked, if any one, who reads the passage cited, can for a moment suspect, or imagine, that Lockhart has omitted any one single name in either of those classes thus criminated, which he could by any possibility have included in them? Would this original accuser, for such he was both in parliament and in history, have left untouched the means of fixing the imputed guilt upon any one individual, after denigrating them unsparingly in the mass? would he have so weakened his general proof? But the name of Lord Marchmont is not found in either one, or the other of them.

There are in the whole list thirty names of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, who received payment from the 20,540*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* Lockhart gives the names of sixteen of them as comprised under the two particular heads of charge,—nine under one, and seven under the other; and the last sentence of the passage cited shews, that these two classes did not include the whole of these thirty persons.

But is it rational to suppose, that he would under each head have named and denounced

persons inferior in rank and repute to Lord Marchmont, and to his own disadvantage have selected that nobleman, pre-eminently obnoxious and hateful to the Jacobites, for mercy, and have thus passed over one, who was wholly destitute of the means of propitiation? I may be spared so absurd an hypothesis, and hasten to the just and necessary conclusion, that on the crimination, as made out by Lockhart, he is wholly absolved; that he had a just claim of arrears, which were then discharged; and that, having given a receipt, he was never paid a second time. In this absolution from guilt are comprised his son and successor, and all those who stand in the same predicament with them.

It is nowise surprising, that the Scottish government felt much anxiety not to enter into the fierce and difficult conflict, which, it must have foreseen, would arise on the question of the Union, with the manifest disadvantage of having left unsatisfied various demands upon it of very long arrears due to many of the leading men of the country; and it is a novel inference, that a man is corrupt, because a debt strictly due to him is discharged. We hold

our reputation on a miserable tenure, if it depends on the incomplete fulfilment of obligations towards us by others; if we are to forfeit it, because a debtor, who has left our lawful demands long unheeded, thinks it advisable at length to acquit a part of them, under views of advantage to himself, at such time as shall best suit his own purposes. Be his motives for doing this imperfect act of justice good or bad, we have nothing to do with them, and are nowise responsible for them, any more than we are for the manner, in which he gets into his possession the means of paying what he owes, where we have neither cognizance of, nor participation in the transaction. The creditor is to obtain his money, when he can, and especially of the public, who, as a debtor, has much power and little shame. If there is dishonesty anywhere, it is in him, who has withheld the money, and not in that creditor, because he receives it.

It should here be observed, that the payment to Lord Marchmont is of a fractional sum, and that there is but one other such in the list; and this circumstance alone would render it pro-

bable, that it was for some specific sum due, though other arrears might remain then unpaid to him, as there certainly did.

I will now state how this claim undoubtedly accrued.

Lord Marchmont represented to King William in his letter of the 24th January 1702, that, until he was made Lord Chancellor, he was by degrees re-establishing order in his affairs, which had been greatly deranged under his exiles, imprisonments, and the confiscation of his estate by King James, but that the inadequacy of the salary to cover the extent of expenditure rendered unavoidable by that high office had involved him in new embarrassments. He held of King William a pension of 400*l.* yearly. When dismissed from the Chancellorship by Queen Anne, he sent his son, Sir Andrew Hume, to London, to represent the injuries, which his private affairs had suffered through his services to the state, and to seek a remedy for them. The Queen bestowed on his Lordship a pension of 500*l.* yearly, not in addition to, but as taking the place of the pension he received from her predecessor on the

throne. In his letter to Sir Andrew Hume then in London, of the 12th January 1703 he speaks of 'the 500*l.* pension,' which her Majesty intends 'for him,' an intention he must then have learnt from his son. The deed of the gift of it, as will appear, was signed on the 29th of that same month.

In a letter to Sir Andrew Hume, still in London, of the 25th of that month, he states, that he has Thesaury precepts for 300*l.*, due on his pension of 400*l.* at Martinmas 1701, and for 800*l.* due on his salary as Lord Chancellor at Martinmas 1702, his dismission having been received by him on the 21st of November, that is, ten days after Martinmas of that year; but he observes, that he cannot get the money for them. On the 3d of the next month, February 1703, he writes to him, that he had then such precepts for 1200*l.* *and more*, but could get no money. Thus since the preceding letter he must have obtained a precept for another quarter of the pension of 400*l.*, that accruing from Martinmas 1701, which would complete the precepts for the payments of his pension under King William, except for that due for a broken

period of less than a month, as that monarch died on the 8th of March 1702. This sum then of 1200*l.* *and more*, for which he had precepts on the 3d February 1703, consisted of 400*l.* for four quarters of pension to within a month of King William's death, and of 800*l.* *and more* for salary as Chancellor under Queen Anne. In his letter of the 25th January 1703 he calls that last sum 800*l.*; but it was really 827*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* as will be shewn; and therefore it is evident, that it was by adding to the 400*l.*, for which he had precepts for pension under King William, his Chancellor's salary due under Queen Anne, that he speaks of having precepts for 1200*l.* *and more*

Lord Marchmont complains to the Duke of Argyle on the 29th December 1705, that 827*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* of his salary, as Chancellor to the Queen, was still unpaid, 'after three years.' In a letter to the Duke of Queensberry of the same date (not printed) he makes exactly the same complaint; and here we find the precise fractional sum of 15*s.* 7*d.*, which appears in the payment stated by Lockhart, and the explanation of it. Lockhart's statement,

although no doubt exaggerated, that pensions in Scotland 'were seldom, or never paid but as 'a particular favor, and upon particular views,' affords the explanation of Lord Marchmont's silence in these two last-mentioned letters respecting the arrears of pension due to him. How this matter stood, and how Lord Marchmont acted upon it, may be learnt from the following passage in a letter of his to Lord Godolphin of the 27th November 1708, in which he entreats his aid to procure to him the payment of such arrears:—'I had not been very pressing for pay-'ment, the Treasury being enough shortened. 'But preferring, as I always had done, the in-'terest of her Majesty before my own private, 'I only got precepts from the Treasury at the 'several terms upon the receivers, who could 'never answer the money, &c.' But the payment of salaries was evidently a matter more usual, and certain; Lord Marchmont, when writing to the Duke of Argyle, observes, that he 'cannot but think it strange,' that a part of his should remain unpaid for three years; such a delay was therefore an unwonted thing; and Lockhart says nothing to lead us to suppose, that

there was any marked irregularity in finding money to discharge them. Lord Marchmont no doubt here sought for the salary only, knowing from the wholly exhausted state of the funds, upon which the pensions were assigned, that a demand for his would at that time of necessity have been utterly fruitless, and could only have served to diminish his chance of obtaining the 827*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* in question, on the other account.

It is seen then, that on the 3d February 1703 he had due to him 400*l.* for pension under King William, exclusive of the sum due for the broken period of less than a month, and 827*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* for Chancellor's salary, whilst acting as such under the Queen; and there was also owing to him his pension at the rate of 400*l.* a year from the time, which had elapsed from King William's death on the 8th March 1702 to the last quarter day, that is, to Martinmas 1702, being 283*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, because, from the 8th March to Old Martinmas Day, November 23d, there are eight months and fifteen days, a payment for which, at the rate of 400*l.* per annum, amounts to that sum. Thus his claim against Queen Anne's government,

from the time of her accession up to Martinmas 1702, was for 827*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*, and 283*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, in all 1111*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*

The sum paid to him, according to Lockhart, was 1104*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*; the sum due to him from Queen Anne from the beginning of her reign to Martinmas 1702 was, as we have just seen, 1111*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*, so that there is a difference of 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* paid to him short of what was due; and that difference was no doubt a deduction made, either for usual charges on, or possibly for fees taken on the ground of a new reign, from his pension, rather than in diminution of his Chancellor's salary, as that last sum bears a strong and distinct trace of not having been diminished, at least not in the fraction of 15*s.* 7*d.* belonging to it, as that is the precise fraction stated by Lockhart. If this be so, he received 827*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* as Chancellor, and 277*l.*, instead of 283*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, for pension. Now it is in this debt to him, arising from pension and salary due in Queen Anne's time to Martinmas 1702, that we are alone to seek the explanation of the transaction, because the government appears to have laid down the principle, that no arrears

should be paid out of the 20,000*l.*, but such as had accrued since her accession, and because it is ascertained, that he was afterwards paid certain arrears of his pension of 500*l.* per annum, reckoning from that same Martinmas 1702, the day at which it commenced at that rate; and this being so, it is hardly possible to imagine that, at such a distance of time, a more satisfactory and decisive elucidation of a matter of this nature could be obtained; and it is the more entirely above all suspicion, as it is not derived from formal and prepared statements, but is collected from letters written, at different times, to different persons, in the course of business, and without the possible idea of there being a defence to be made.

In a letter to his private secretary, Mr. John Dickson of Anton's Hill, dated 'Red Braes 'Castle, July 23d 1708,' he sends to him Queen Anne's deed of gift of a pension to him (Lord Marchmont) of 500*l.* yearly, dated January 29th 1703, and sundry precepts for payment, in order that the necessary steps might be taken for obtaining those payments conformably to 'the Act

'for further directing the payment of the equi-
'valent.' The earliest date of them is the 19th February 1706. They are together for the sum of 2250*l.*, and are for the amount of his yearly pension of 500*l.* from Martinmas 1702, the day from which it commenced, to Whitsuntide 1707, a period of four years and a half. It appears thus, that when the parliament met on the 3d October 1706, there were still due to Lord Marchmont nearly 2000*l.*, beyond the 1104*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* stated to have been paid to him. We have thus the exact limits of the time, within which alone a debt to Lord Marchmont from the State could have accrued, such as could be payable out of the 20,000*l.* in question. The first limit is the day of Queen Anne's accession, the second is Martinmas 1702. As the demand on the equivalent, which in July 1708 he directs Mr. Dickson to make for him, begins from that last-mentioned day, it is clear, that he had none of a prior date to bring forward; and we find, that in that precise time, partly from pension and partly from salary, a sum would have become due to him exceeding, yet only by a few pounds, that paid to him out

of the 20,000*l.* advanced by the English government. The probable cause of the small difference is explained; but whatever the deduction was, it was fortunately not made in such a manner as to destroy a very important feature in the payment, the fractional sum due as part of the salary left unpaid. This may be the place to observe, that Lord Marchmont's Papers as here employed furnish proofs, independent of all others, that he was neither of the class of those, who according to Lockhart had been already paid their arrears, or of those, who giving no receipts were paid a second time. The former, it is alleged, had had their demands discharged *a considerable time* before the distribution of the money. Now it is so late as on the 29th December 1705, that we find Lord Marchmont complaining to the Dukes of Argyle and Queensberry, that 827*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* of his salary as Chancellor was *then*, and had been for three years unpaid. Nor could he be of the second class, who, it is said, obtaining certificates of the Lords of the Treasury of what was due to them for arrears of pensions and salaries,

being thus entitled to the full of those arrears out of the equivalent, were *in a few months* thereafter paid again in whole, or in part; the letter to Mr. Dickson of the 23d July 1708, which will be found according to its date in the third volume, bears in it the evidence, that no payment had *then* been made to Lord Marchmont under the new Act respecting the equivalent. He had never acted himself on this law, it is plain, or he would have himself instructed his agent how to proceed, and not have referred him to others for directions; and if the agent had already acted upon it, he would not have needed them. It thus appears, that this was Lord Marchmont's first demand of payment out of the equivalent; but it was a demand of a sum accruing for a period *subsequent* to that for which he was paid out of the 20,000*l.*; so that it proved that he *then* had no demand to make for a preceding period, and it barred such a demand; and as the period, for which this claim through Mr. Dickson is advanced, begins precisely at the day, up to which it is contended that he was paid from the commencement of

Queen Anne's reign out of the 20,000*l.*, it is essential in fixing the time, for which an arrear to him had run up.

I may here be asked, how it happens that, having been able to make such statements from letters from Lord Marchmont respecting these pecuniary claims, I find nothing in them with regard to the precise sum of 1104*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* in question; and the answer is easily given. His letters, which I have, are such of his own, as he kept draughts or copies of; I have not the answers; I have but few of his accounts; of such matters, as he transacted in person, I have but scattered traces. We find the statements, he made to Sir Andrew Hume, because it was necessary, that he (Lord Marchmont) being in Scotland should make them to his son in writing, since he had sent him to England to address representations to Queen Anne's Scots ministers respecting his pecuniary affairs in relation to the government; he was also obliged to address by letter his representation to the Dukes of Argyle and Queensberry respecting his salary, as their Graces were in London; and the letter to Mr.

Dickson was written, because the writer was at his family seat in Berwickshire, and had occasion for his agent's services at Edinburgh. But there are many matters both public and private, in which he is known to have taken a part, which are but slightly treated of, or not mentioned at all in his papers. Thus we learn very little from those papers on the important transactions of the Scottish parliament, from the time at which he ceased to be Chancellor, until the Union was in agitation, although he was eagerly engaged in them, because he had no correspondent, to whom he had to give information respecting them.

I trust that I have now demonstrated how groundless was the charge of corruption advanced against Lord Marchmont. But I am neither authorized to examine the accusation as brought against others, or enabled by particular information, or indeed warranted by my subject, so to do. Yet some observations present themselves forcibly even on a superficial view of the details of it. Amongst the items of the account we find the following:—

	£	s.	d.
To the Duke of Atholl	1,000	0	0
To Major Cunningham of Eckatt . .	100	0	0
To the Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor . .	490	0	0
To the Lord Ormiston, Lord Justice Clerk .	200	0	0
To the Messenger that brought down the Treaty of Union	60	0	0
To the (Lord High) Commissioner for equipage and daily allowance	12,325	0	0
	£14,175	0	0

The whole of this sum of 14,175*l.* is to be deducted from the total sum of 20,540*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*, if we seek to ascertain what, on the shewing of the accusers, could by any possibility have been the highest amount of the money employed for dark and sinister purposes, under whatever form, and to whomever, to be distributed. A more extensive knowledge of the subject, than that which I possess, might lead to farther deductions. The Duke of Atholl, and Major Cunningham of Eckatt, were assuredly not bribed to support the Union, for his Grace was a most vigorous opponent to it, but still less so than the Major; for it was no fault of his, according to Lockhart, if he did not march upon Edinburgh to cut short the discussions upon it at the

head of between seven and eight thousand men in arms, Cameronians, and others from the western counties, all ready to meet at a time and at a place fixed, in order 'to raise the par-'liament,' and to proclaim King James. The Earl of Seafield, who was Chancellor, and Lord Ormiston, who was Lord Justice Clerk, can in no sense be deemed bribed by the sums they received, for they held high offices; moreover, one of the three purposes, to which the Scottish government, as I have already stated, promised to restrict the expenditure of the 10,000*l.*, last advanced of the 20,000*l.*, was 'the payment of 'the salaries of the other servants' (besides the High Commissioner, who was to receive his daily allowance); and an application of these sums as parts of the salaries of these servants of the state would be in strict conformity to that engagement. Nor does Lockhart impugn the claims of these two lords for the sums respectively paid to them, or accuse them of not giving receipts, and of being paid a second time. The small sum paid to the messenger, who carried down the Treaty of Union, and the large sum paid to the High Commissioner for the

purposes stated in the account, I need not say, were expended in a manner wholly foreign to clandestine practices of corruption.

After then we have made this deduction, we shall find 6365*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* left as the sum total of the purchase-money, by which, we are told, a majority in the Scottish parliament was secured for the adoption of a measure, which was loudly and fiercely execrated by the great mass of the population of the kingdom, and almost resisted in arms, which wounded to the heart the national feelings of a people, in which they are exquisitely alive, and annihilated that very parliament itself. It was therefore an act of so much hazard, and of sacrifice so immense, that no men surely could have brought themselves to consummate it, unless, under the strongest sense of the dangers arising from the existing state of things, and through a deep insight into futurity, and a distinct conviction of the ultimate beneficial results, they had a certain assurance, that they thus best promoted the greatest and most essential interests of their country.

But, if we are to believe Lockhart himself, nothing at all like that sum remained applicable

to those debasing purposes. For the reasons already stated at much length, the only persons, who, on his own assumptions and reasonings, can be allowed to have received any part of the 20,000*l*., the Duke of Queensberry excepted, without having a just claim for arrears of pension, or of salary to the amount received by them, are the nine whom he names, asserting them to have had their utmost demands discharged a considerable time previously; and the whole of the money, which on this view of the matter they wrongfully obtained, and the Scots government wrongfully disbursed, was 1586*l*. 2*s*. We have here the absurd anomaly of men of high and hereditary rank as unmindful of their country, as if they had drunk of the cup of Circe, and yet so moderate and abstemious as scarcely to sip the intoxicating draught. One discreet and self-denying peer (be it told in Penryn and East Retford!) is made to content himself with 11*l*. 2*s*.

Let us now consider, what sums were disbursed in payments just in themselves as founded on actual claims, but which payments, it is said, did not protect the public against a

repetition, and a second satisfaction of a part of them. We have seen, that the second class of persons specifically inculpated is composed of those, who had claims, which, as it has been shewn, were just, but who gave no receipts to the Treasury, for what they received out of the 20,000*l.* in question; neither did that office record those payments: thus affirms Lockhart, adding that many of them were consequently twice paid, in whole or in part, out of the equivalent. It must immediately occur to the reader, with what manifest injustice the accuser conducts this part of his case. As one of the Commissioners of Accounts he had the means to compel the production of the proceedings of the Treasury, and of the records of its money transactions; and there can be no doubt but that he actually inspected them. If he knew who were guilty, and to what extent, he was bound to state their names, but no other, and the facts; he should have stated who were paid in whole, and who in part; if he did not ascertain the names and the facts, it was most unjust to bring forward in a general accusation persons, whom he knew could not all be guilty.

He names seven persons as having omitted to do a certain thing, and alleges that many of them, taking advantage of that omission, committed a certain offence to their own profit; and by this contrivance he throws a shade of guilt over the whole number, which at this day it is absolutely impossible to efface. Two of the seven persons thus criminated are the Dukes of Queensberry and Atholl. The Duke of Queensberry's case will be considered apart. The Duke of Atholl, it is admitted, remained unmoved by the sum he received, whatever may have been the motive for placing it in his hands. The sum total received by the other five was 2000*l.* Were we to go as far as possible beyond the accusation, and to suppose, that these five persons were all paid twice in full, that is the sum then, which they would have obtained more than was due to them. But let us suppose, on such grounds as are afforded to us, that half of that whole sum was twice paid, that is, 1000*l.*; and by adding it to the 1586*l.* 2*s.* last mentioned, we have 2586*l.* 2*s.* as all that first or last can be assumed to have been corruptly received, if Mr. Lock-

hart's statements be subjected to no other process than that of comparing them with each other; and unfortunately, for want of such papers as I possess in Lord Marchmont's case, I can at this distance of time in none besides subject them to any other.

I excepted the Duke of Queensberry from the last list, because Lockhart, immediately after comprising him in the last charge, (that against those who, he alleges, gave no receipts) declares, that his Grace, when paid his equipage-money and daily allowance out of the equivalent, repaid to the Earl of Glasgow the sum he had received on those accounts out of the 20,540*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* But he proceeds to inform us, that it was generally believed, that Queen Anne gave back that sum, which was 12,325*l.*, to him and to the Earls of Godolphin and of Glasgow, as a reward for their good services in carrying on the Union; that is, he is obliged to state a fact, which absolves the Duke; but then, by affirming a certain supposition to his prejudice and to that of others to have been generally entertained, he takes the chance of malignity

or folly placing such a conjecture, or suspicion, in balance against it.

I am not much disposed to allow, that the infamy of corruption is extenuated by the greatness of the means employed to effect it, and least of all amongst those, whose birth, education, and habits of life should be their pledges for noble and generous actions; but it must be admitted as a general rule, that the probability of its having been effected diminishes, where the means available for producing it are small in proportion to the means and habits of expence of those, on whom it is supposed to have been attempted. The Numidian, who, looking back on Rome, exclaimed, that she was for sale, could a buyer be found, at least did her the honor to believe, that she was not venal at a vile price, and that hers would exceed the wealth of any known purchaser. It must be our first and earnest desire to be justified in believing, that no seductive arts could have so shaken and deluded the virtue of the Scottish senate, that it should under any temptation have prostrated itself before so base an idol as

that of Mammon. But at any rate let us not attribute to it a corruptibility thus deplorably inflammable; let us do better justice to the 'Douglasses and the Campbells[1]',—let us do it to an high-minded people, to its nobility, and to its representatives, and not give a ready credence to the charge, that many of them, of the fairest fame and largest possessions, foully and mercenarily sold themselves and their country for a handful of pelf far smaller than that, with which a modern Jugurtha would venture to sally forth from Lombard-street on an electioneering expedition.

But now, quitting these general views, and returning to the cause of this investigation, the duty, which was incumbent on me, to employ the materials in my hands in vindication of the character of Patrick Earl of Marchmont, I must apologize for the length of it. It has led me much farther than I expected, or could have wished; but in an age, whose eager applause and sympathy are granted to the labors, which restore to day the lost and forgotten

[1] See the Duke of Hamilton's Speech on the first article of the Union.

treasures of Grecian and Egyptian art, I trust, I may be pardoned this endeavor to replace on the pedestal, from which rash and profane hands have hurled it, the statue of a British Worthy, who became a common property of the island by that very measure, his strenuous support of which was the source of the calumny which I have had to combat.

G. H. R.

POSTSCRIPT.

It has been already mentioned, that the Report made to the House of Commons by the Commissioners of Public Accounts, which contains their statements and observations respecting the sum of 20,540*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*, lent by the English to the Scots Government, is not to be found in its Journals. It was their Second Report; it was presented on the 17th March, 1712, and was ordered to be bound up with the other papers of that Session. But, on examining those papers, a curious circumstance has been ascertained, that this, but no one other of them, is wanting. It appears however, that it was printed in the Sixth Volume of the Parliamentary History of England, published in 1810 (columns 1100 to 1124). Mr. Lockhart had presented their First Report; this was brought up by Mr. Annesley. The far greater part of it refers to other branches of their inquiries; but that portion of it, which regards the money sent to Scotland, throws no new light on that matter. What it alleges respecting the constitution of the Treasury there, as then existing, nowise affects the application of that sum, as bearing upon the characters of those to whom it was distributed. It labors

to prove inconsistencies between Lord Godolphin's and Lord Glasgow's account of the repayment of the 12,325*l.* advanced to the Duke of Queensberry, a point now of no consequence whatever in any view, as Lockhart tells us, that the commissioners discovered, and it was evidently after making this Report, that this money was repaid to the queen herself. With respect to the remaining sum, which they state to have been 7675*l.*, but which was 8215*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*, as they must have subsequently learnt, we find the observation, which Lockhart attributes to them, 'that if the money had been fairly applied to the pretended purposes, there could have been no just[1] occasion for so much caution and jealousy;' but, as was to be expected with certainty, it contains no one fact regarding those, who received it, which is not related by him. In the Appendix to his Memoirs he cites discoveries of theirs, as affecting those persons, which are not stated in this document, but which have been fully considered in this Defence, and which must have been made at a later period.

G. H. R.

[1] Vide Lockhart; *such.*

DIARY

OF

HUGH EARL OF MARCHMONT.

LORD BOLINGBROKE said, that Marshals Puysegur and Coigny both condemned the sending Maillebois's army into Germany, because the English and Austrians might easily penetrate into France through the weak side of their frontier, as the French always esteemed the side of Flanders to be, when they had only Gravelines, beside Dunkirk, till now they had taken Ipres, &c.; and Coigny said, it must cost 'em a province at least.

1744. July 28th. Saturday.

Lord Stair[1] gave me a paper to read, which, he said, he yesterday gave the King, wherein he proposed, that our army in Flanders should enter Picardy, and take Amiens and Peronne, as the French could have no army in the field if they put garrisons into all their towns. The King looked much at a loss, at first imagining Lord Stair came to talk about himself upon the vacancy in the peerage by Lord Lauderdale's death[2]; but he

July 30th. Monday.

[1] A field-marshal. He had the command of the British army at Dettingen under George the Second in 1743; but resigned it at the end of the summer.

[2] Lord Stair was elected one of the Scots representative peers on this vacancy occurring.

told him, he came to speak to him about the public, and, among other things, that he was so zealous for the cause against France, that his Majesty could not imagine he would oppose raising money to carry it on; hereupon he was graciously heard. He said, Lord Aberdeen[1] was Carteret's[2] man, tho' Carteret had pretended to be his, Lord Stair's, friend, and done it with an air of sincerity; but that Tweeddale[3] had behaved very aukwardly, and did not know what to say; that he was most surprised that the prince[4] was against him in it, which he was sure of, tho' he had always avoided coming on that subject with Lord Stair; and that, in the frequent and free conversations Lord Stair had had with him this winter, he had said, that he believed there was only Lord Stair, Sir John Barnard[5], and himself, that sincerely wished the prosperity of the nation. Lord Stair ascribed the Prince's now being against him to Lord Carteret; but he thinks, the Pelhams and their friends being for him, and the Duke of Argyle[6] having told them he was so, before he went to Scotland,

[1] William Earl of Aberdeen, who died in 1745.

[2] Secretary of State for the Home Department.

[3] The Marquis of, Secretary of State for Scotland in 1742; he resigned in 1746, and had no successor.

[4] Frederick Prince of Wales.

[5] One of the Members for the city of London; a man of considerable abilities, and a powerful antagonist to Sir Robert Walpole in the House of Commons.

[6] Archibald Duke of Argyle, who had long managed the affairs of Scotland as Earl of Islay, and continued so to do. He succeeded as duke to John Duke of Argyle in 1743. He was Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, and was also Lord Justice-General for life.

that he shall be the person still. The Duke of Argyle, he says, is for him, from enmity to Tweeddale. He said, that the Prince always made the Princess be present at all their conversations, and that she shewed her approbation always in the right place; that she desires to be informed, and has a great deal to say with the Prince.

August 1st. Wednesday. Lord Chesterfield told me, that yesterday the two Secretaries of State, and Mr. Pelham, had signed a treaty with Mr. Wassenaer[1], whereby we were to give 150,000*l.* to the Queen of Hungary to enable 20,000 men from Bavaria to join Prince Charles[2], and that thereby he would maintain his winter-quarter in Alsace; and that Sir Luke Schaub[3] was the only other person present at the signing.

August 2d. Thursday. Lord Chesterfield told [me] that on the death of Lord Sunderland Lord Carteret had applied to the late King to support him, as he was then surrounded by his enemies; that the King promised it him, but told [him] the necessity of the time forced him to temporise; that hereupon Lord Carteret spoke to the Duchess of Kendall[4], who bid him have patience, and told him the King hated his other ministers. The Court

[1] M. de Wasner, the Austrian plenipotentiary, who signed the Treaty of Worms in 1743.

[2] Of Lorraine, who commanded the Austrians on the Rhine.

[3] A native of Basle, formerly British minister, first at Madrid and then at Paris.

[4] Left-handed wife to George the First.

being in this situation, both Lord Townshend[1] and Lord Carteret[2] went to Hanover with the King; and there Lord Carteret wanting to have some things decided in a way he thought most for his interest, and finding difficulties, he imagined these proceeded from the Duchess of Kendall, whereupon he entered into an intrigue to raise the Countess of Platen, who was the mistress of the King's heart, against the Duchess, who was only the King's friend, and had the ascendant over his mind, but governed him by hard words, and blaming him, so that she held him by his timidity and indolence. Madame de Platen's great ambition was to marry her daughter to a duke and peer of France. This Lord Carteret conducted by means of Sir Luke Schaub, who was then at Paris. Sir Luke, being in love with Madame de la Vrillière, to make his court to her proposed that her son, Monsieur de St. Florentin, should marry Mademoiselle de Platen, and be made a Duke. This Sir Luke proposed to the Regent[3], who told him he could not do it, because it would disoblige many great families, who had far better pretensions to dukedoms. Sir Luke upon this writ to Lord Carteret, that the Regent could only be brought to grant a dukedom if the King himself wrote him a letter desiring it, for then the King's letter would be a sufficient excuse for him to the other pretenders. Upon this the King writ such a

[1] Secretary of State. [2] Secretary of State at that time also.
[3] Duke of Orleans. This happened in 1723.

letter in his own hand, to be delivered by Sir Luke, who alone was to be in the secret; but Lord Townshend, getting notice of the intrigue, immediately discovered it to the Duchess of Kendall, who went to the King, and made such a bustle, that he absolutely denied it: whereupon, by the advice of Lord Townshend, she made the King order Lord Townshend to write to Mr. Walpole, who was minister at Paris, to inform the Regent, that the King was very indifferent whether St. Florentin was made a Duke or not. Mr. Walpole having done so, when Sir Luke came next to press the Regent, he told him he could do nothing in it, since one minister desired it in the King's name, and the other assured [him], that his master did not desire it. This intrigue the Duchess of Kendall never forgave to Lord Carteret.

Lord Bolingbroke said, that Mr. Crawfurd told him, that he was present in the Regent's closet, when Sir Luke proposed the thing to him; and that the Regent told Sir Luke, that the thing was so impossible, that he desired him to prevent the King's writing to him to desire a thing he could not do, and that notwithstanding Sir Luke wrote, that a letter from the King would obtain it. Lady Bolingbroke[1] said besides, that she knew, that when it was first mentioned, the Regent said, if Mada ıe de Platen wanted to marry her daughter to

[1] Lord Bolingbroke married Madame de la Villette, a niece of Madame de Maintenon.

a French duke, he would gratify her if she would let him choose a suitable party, whom he could make a duke without offending any; but that Sir Luke persisted in his choice to gratify Madame de la Vrillière.

She said, that with a view to this project Madame de la Vrillière, by Madame de Prie[1], got Broglio sent ambassador to England to renew it; and Lord Bolingbroke said, the Duke of Bourbon told him, laughing, that he was sending Broglio over because he could not help it, for the women would have it.

Lord Chesterfield told, as a decisive stroke towards the Grand Duke's[2] character, that when he was walking in the park at Brussels with Count Lannoi, upon seeing a new building where every thing was neglected, he asked what it could be; and that Count Lannoi told him it was the orangery, built to receive the orange-trees from Lorraine, which the Duke, upon giving up that duchy, had desired leave of King Stanislaus to carry away, and that King Stanislaus having granted it, they were kept in the building he saw.

He told too, that now the blame of the Queen of Hungary's not sending assistance to the King

[1] The regent Duke of Orleans died during this intrigue; the Duke of Bourbon became prime minister; Madame de Prie was his mistress.

[2] Conformably to the preliminaries of peace of 1735, Francis Duke of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, resigned his duchy to Stanislaus, the abdicated King of Poland, and took possession of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, on the death of the Grand Duke, the last of the Medici, in 1737. He was afterwards the Emperor Francis the First.

of Sardinia was laid upon her minister at Turin, for writing constantly not to do it, because the King had troops enough to defend his country, and only desired assistance to prevent the Austrians getting Naples[1].

Lord Bolingbroke said, he thought there was nothing in that, since the court of Vienna acted in this just as they did in 1707; and he had heard above two months ago, that the King of Sardinia had offered, if they would assist him now, to go, as soon as the snows fell, to Naples with the Austrians.

Lord Chesterfield told, that Sir Luke Schaub had told him, he knew nothing of any plan of operations, but he could very easily form one, and that it should be for Prince Charles to take Huningen[2] and Fort Louis, and then to march into France, to the very gates of Paris, and for the army in Flanders to march to the same place, after taking Arras, or some such place, which might easily be done, the French not having sufficient force to garrison all their towns, and as we should leave a sufficient army to keep M. de Saxe[3] in echec, as Prince Charles would do to Coigny. Lord Chesterfield supposed this to be the real plan of our ministers, and both Lord Bolingbroke and he treated [it] as one made in Bedlam.

[1] The King of Naples broke his neutrality in the spring of 1744, joining the Spaniards under Count Gages, which compelled the Austrians to fall back on the North of Italy.

[2] The French line of defence was turned here in 1814.

[3] Marshal Saxe, who commanded the French in Flanders.

August 4th. Saturday.

Lord Stair told me, that he was fixed upon to be the peer for Scotland, that the Duke of Newcastle had done it with the king, who had bid him tell Lord Stair, that he hoped he would not oppose the king's measures. Lord Stair answered, that he was, as he had always been, zealous for the King's family, and that he could not be supposed any other than zealous for carrying on the war, so that he did not understand wherein he could be supposed desirous to obstruct the king's measures; that the King spoke to Lord Carteret himself, telling him, that he had never asked his opinion about the Scots peer, and that some of his ministers told him it would be agreeable to Lord Stair, whereupon Lord Carteret said, he knew none so proper, and then the King bid him tell Lord Tweeddale of it; that yesterday, when he told the Prince of it, his Royal Highness expressed his joy, and said 'the Princess told me, that 'when once before you mentioned this to me, I 'made you no answer: I told her it was true, for I 'was struck dumb with surprise, that any other 'body could be thought of.' He told me, that our generals in Flanders were all of different opinions; that Wade[1] was so contemptible, that M. Reischach at the Hague had actually asked the States to give the command of their forces to the Duke d'Aremberg; that Wade was directed by the two Hano-

[1] Field-marshal. He commanded the British and Hanoverian troops in Flanders.

verians, Wendt and Ilten, and that none of the other English generals were so bad courtiers as to differ from them; that Duke d'Aremberg's[1] first project had been to enter Lorraine, or make a detachment to the Moselle, and next to besiege Maubeuge, but he was overruled at the council of war, and that the march the army had now made was against Wade's opinion, who proposed staying to cover Ghent, and did not march till a day after the rest of the army; that they had no plan till he gave the paper, he had before shewed me, to the King, who was pleased with it, and had sent it to Holland, to Vienna, and to the army, with orders to execute it, or to send over their objections to it; that Lord Carteret had told in his letter, that it was Lord Stair's, and that he had immediately, on the Duke of Newcastle's desiring him, put into his letter too, that Wade should consult with the Duke d'Aremberg and Count Maurice[2], and not with the council of war. Lord Stair told me, that 20,000 men from Bavaria were not to join Prince Charles, being countermanded from fear of the King of Prussia.

August 7th. Tuesday. Lord Bolingbroke told me, he had it from the solicitor[3], that the King had said to the Duke of Newcastle[4], that Wade was

[1] Of an illustrious family in the Netherlands. He commanded the Austrians in the allied army on the Mein in 1743, and in Flanders in 1744. His project now was to send 20,000 men to the Moselle, to enter France on that side.

[2] Of Nassau, who commanded the Dutch in Flanders.

[3] The Honourable William Murray, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, and Earl of Mansfield.

[4] Secretary of State.

timid, and had always black atoms before his eyes, and that he wished old Stair was in his place; that Wade would have done very well under himself, the King, for he would have made him act, but that his ministers had hindered him from going; Carteret had given him honest advice; he had said that it belonged to him to resolve, but that he himself, Carteret, thought he should go. Upon this the Duke replied, that he would give him one piece of honest advice; that there was yet three months to the meeting of parliament, and that he would advise his Majesty to employ that time to lay aside those ministers who, he thought, had given him dishonest advice, one of which he himself was. The King turned to the window, and then said, that Carteret had given honest advice; but that he was very well satisfied with them too who had given the other advice.

Lord Bolingbroke said, that the solicitor had said to him, relating to the conduct of the opposition next session, that they would conduct themselves ill, for they would make no distinction between the parts of the administration, who would thereby be drove to unite so far as to defeat the opposition, though they could never unite sufficiently to compose all their differences; whereas the breach might be widened, so as to force them to a rupture before the session was half over, could one part of them see, that they would be supported by the opposition; but that a treaty was impracticable, and that

if Lord Bolingbroke gave the above advice, it would be thought to proceed from a concert with him, the solicitor, who would be supposed to speak from his partiality for Pelham: to this Lord Bolingbroke agreed; that last year the Pelhams' heads turned on the King's return, for, before he went abroad, they had found themselves not only consulted by the King on all his affairs, but that Pelham[1] had brought him to resolve to keep the hold he had of the opposition by Lord Gower[2], in order to form a national ministry; whereas, on his return, they found themselves without any share in his confidence, and him determined against what he had been resolved upon at his departure. Lord Stair told Lord Bolingbroke and me, that he had said to Mr. Pelham that he ought to decide, whether he would submit to the scheme of rendering this government arbitrary, which was his enemy Carteret's, or would support a national government according to the constitution of this country, in which project every honest man would join him; that Pelham made no doubt but of his being supported in it. Lord Stair and Lord Bolingbroke said, that there could be no difficulty in it but what arose from the characters of men, and principally of Lord Chesterfield, whose timidity would prevent him deciding in the opposition; and though the best thought

[1] The Right Honourable Henry Pelham, First Lord of the Treasury, brother to the Duke of Newcastle.

[2] Privy Seal in 1742, and again in 1744.

as they did, yet the factious and hot would frighten him into compliance with them; however, Lord Bolingbroke said he would press upon it at all events. Lord Bolingbroke told me that Richard Littleton, the officer, had been with Lord Carteret, to ask if he was to carry any letters to Flanders, and that his lordship had taken him into his closet, and talked of politics a long time to him, but that all he, Littleton, could make of it was, that if England could hold out to make war some time, France would have no trade left.

August 9th, Thursday.

Lady Bolingbroke told me, that the Princesse des Ursins[1], not daring herself to marry the King of Spain, Philip V., for fear of being poisoned, as it was said, entered into a treaty to marry him to Mlle. de Roche sur Yon, but broke it off, out of fear, that by that means the court of France would govern Philip; that then she inquired at Alberoni[2], who was in Spain, what was the character of the Princess of Parma; that he, immediately guessing what her view was, represented the princess in the colour he thought most agreeable to the Princesse des Ursins, assuring her, that the princess must of course shew to her all that gratitude could dictate for raising her to so high a state; upon which she dispatched him to negociate the marriage at Parma, but, upon the business being discovered, one of the Princesse des Ursins' friends, the Duke of Me-

[1] A French woman.

[2] The Cardinal.

dina, either Sidonia or Celi, told her, that the Princess of Parma was of a different character from what she imagined, and would assume the direction of every thing; this made her immediately change her resolution; and she sent an express to Alberoni, not to break off at once, but to suspend the conclusion, because the King had some doubts. Alberoni however pursued his project, ordered the express upon his life not to appear any where, shewed the letters to the Princess of Parma, concluded the marriage, and then wrote back, that the express had come too late. When the new Queen came to Spain, the Princesse des Ursins met her at Pampelona, and, instead of the reception she expected, and returning with the Queen, her Majesty ordered her to remain there, and in a little time to retire to Bayonne, and sent an express to her new husband, to inform him of it, and of her reasons for it.

Lady Bolingbroke said, that the Regent[1], to his death, governed the court of Spain, and kept the King from abdicating, whereby he gained the Queen's confidence. Lord Bolingbroke told me, that when Lord Stanhope came to Paris in 1718, he talked to him on the situation of affairs, and told him, that the reason they made the quadruple alliance[2], was to reduce the Emperor to a specific demand, which must be advantageous, since by the treaty in 1716 they opened all his pretensions;

[1] Of France.

[2] Made in 1718 between England, Austria, France, and Holland.

to which Lord Bolingbroke replied, that this was justifying one fault by another, that, without it, they might have satisfied the Emperor; for as they knew the views of Spain, had they delayed their quadruple alliance but about six weeks, when Spain had broke the neutrality of Italy, they might have said to Spain, 'We must, in pursuance to our treaties, 'arm against you, as you have broke the treaties; 'we will no longer be bound to the strange article of 'the reversibility of Sicily, but will give it the em- 'peror, and satisfy otherwise the Duke of Savoy;' that Lord Stanhope only answered,—'Harry, you 'was always an enemy to the house of Austria.'

Lord Bolingbroke said, that for his life he could not tell how that article of the reversibility of Sicily slipt in, Lord Oxford always having some private negociation in his own hand.

Lord and Lady Bolingbroke both said, that the treaty[1] between France, the Emperor, the Elector Palatine, and [Lady Bolingbroke said], the Prince of Hesse Cassel, had been signed about the 20th of May last, N. S. Lady Bolingbroke said, it was talked of before she left Paris, and added, that, in allusion to it, Marshal Coigny[2] had wrote, that Prince Charles would have but two months time to choose what he would do.

[1] The Treaty of Frankfort of the 13th of May, 1744, between the Emperor, France, Prussia, the Elector Palatine, and the King of Sweden, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

[2] Commanded the French in Alsatia.

Lord Bolingbroke said, this Prussian[1] declaration against the Queen of Hungary changed the whole war, and brought us back to where he had been in 1742, so that the opportunites of 1742 and 1743 were both lost; but that when it came to the worst, we could give the Queen of Hungary some money; tell her to defend herself the best she could; bid the Dutch watch their own interest; and bringing home our troops, add them to our fleet, and tell France to attack us if she durst; in the mean time destroying her shipping, and trade, and infesting her coasts with our land forces.

August 11th. Saturday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that Lord Chesterfield had dined with him yesterday, and that Lord Bolingbroke had taken occasion to tell him, that, in order to save this country, it was necessary to get rid of the madman[2], who brought us into this situation; that he, Lord Chesterfield, knew he had no predilection, but that he saw no other way to succeed, but a junction with the Pelhams, to which Lord Chesterfield agreed, and added, that he thought it was practicable now; whereupon Lord Bolingbroke said, that, in order to do it, they must use both the *astutia Italiana*, and a greater degree of firmness.

Lord Stair told Lord Bolingbroke and me, that the Dutch had desired the King to give the com-

[1] The King of Prussia, alarmed at the success of the Austrian arms, resumed his against Maria Theresa, issuing the manifesto above referred to, on the 10th of August, N. S. 1744.

[2] Lord Carteret.

mand of his army to the Duke d'Aremberg, Mr. Wade being found utterly incapable of the common things; that he, Lord Stair, had advised the King to do so, or to give it to Count Neuperg[1]; that the King had said he could not give it to a stranger, and that Aremberg was interested, and neglected his mistress' interest for his own. This, Lord Stair said, he said nothing to, but knew the very sums that Carteret had made the King give d'Aremberg, to make him contradict Lord Stair in everything the year before; that he said to the King, that, before he went to Scotland, he would lay a memorial before him of what might be done to put his affairs in a good posture.

He told us, that he had seen Pelham yesterday; that Pelham had asked what Lord Chesterfield said; and, upon his answering that he knew what he thought last year, Pelham had said, things are now altered from what they were then, meaning, Lord Stair said, that then he was under engagements to support the measures the King had taken, but now he was not. He told us, that Mr. Pelham had told the King, that now his affairs went on so, that it was impossible to know what was meant; that he had no ally to share the burthen with him; and that it was necessary to have a plan whereby to judge what they were doing, and what they ought to do; and that the Dutch might join in the burthen, and in the executing of it.

[1] An Austrian general, who had been employed against the Turks and the Prussians.

Lord Stair said, too, that they were expecting Wade's answer to the paper lately sent over; and that, according to that, they were to take their resolution; but that Carteret and his were so good party men, that they would rather do nothing, than let anything be done by others than their creatures; and that he had lately occasions to see Carteret's degree of knowledge, and that he was as ignorant as the Duke of Newcastle, *c'estoit tout dire*, although he spoke better. He said, that though the King of Prussia might be able to do little more this campaign than harass the country, yet, if the wār lasted till next year, we should not be able to withstand both France and Prussia; that therefore the only thing to be done was to push the war with vigour in the Low Countries, where we could end the war in a few weeks; for, by marching to Paris, the French would be disabled from paying any of their armies, and that this could easily be done; the French had in all the Low Countries but fifty-four battalions; that we had above one hundred battalions; that he would encamp at Orchies, by which you would give the alarm to all their towns; that from thence he would detach about forty battalions, and a great body of horse to take post at Amiens; and that done, he would throw in a very strong garrison into Antwerp, put some troops into Mons and Tournay, and march to Paris, where there was nothing to oppose you; then he would call in his detachment at Amiens, and seize Rouen,

where there was nobody neither, and so open the Seine for as many battalions of foot, to be sent by sea, as should be found necessary to support winter-quarters in Normandy; that, as soon as he had reached Paris, he would cantoon his army along the Oise, where they would be safe and well provided; and that this must put a sudden end to the war; that Wade had taken four days to march to his camp within four miles of Lisle, and that he had left his artillery behind him; that he had not known what was in Lisle, though all along in its neighbourhood; that there had been but one battalion in it, and three of militia; that the day after our arrival, three battalions and one squadron had entered, and some days after, twelve or thirteen thousand men; and that perhaps Count Saxe might post himself along the canal near Lisle, and so cover all Flanders, while we did nothing; for that Wade writ in every letter, that it was impossible to do anything, since we were not strong enough to act, and at the same time cover Ghent.

Lord Bolingbroke said, Lord Chesterfield had told him, that somebody, come four days ago from the army, had asked Wade whether any siege or action was to be attempted, for then he would stay; and that Wade, and some other officers with him, had said, if he staid for that only, he had best go. Lord Bolingbroke told us, that Winchelsea[1] this morning had said, the step of Prussia was an unlucky acci-

[1] Then First Lord of the Admiralty.

dent, and that we were always against giving money, or else a little money might make the Saxon act against Prussia; that Russia would act, and he hoped Sweden might be brought in too; that Lord Bolingbroke replied, that our distresses were, as he observed, always immediate, but our hopes remote; and that he doubted, we should desire Sweden to take Stettin from the Prussian, lest a footing in Germany should tempt them to covet Bremen[1] and Verden likewise. Lord Bolingbroke told me, he had talked with Lord Chesterfield, and told him part of what Stair had said, and added, that in any treaty he thought the beginning ought to be this; 'This is 'our plan for home affairs, and this for foreign; will 'you and the Pelhams propose this, and adhere to 'it in the closet? If you will, we support you in 'it, or fall with you;' that Lord Chesterfield had said, that the Duke of Newcastle had last winter told him, 'I expect to be out, and, if I am, I won't 'oppose.' Now, this being their resolution, it was evident that they could agree to no such measure, unless they were quite sure of carrying it. Lord Bolingbroke said no more, but in answer to me, that Chesterfield said, he never knew how to talk with Lord Stair, for, in whatever he reported, he saw things so much through the medium of his own imagination, that one could not rely upon his exactness. Lord Bolingbroke said, that Chesterfield

[1] Which were conquered from Sweden by the Danes, and sold by them to George the First, as elector of Hanover.

seemed to despair of every thing; and that upon his, Lord Chesterfield's, saying, that the Pelhams had no reason to be jealous of any closet-man, for they would not take Gower, nor Cobham[1], for such; and, as to himself, he would have nothing to do in it, Lord Bolingbroke had said, that however he must, in the case of a new establishment, act in the closet in some degree; for there was no other to conduct foreign affairs, and to this Lord Chesterfield agreed.

August 13th. Monday. Lord Bolingbroke told me, that M. d'Andrié, the King of Prussia's minister, if it was he who had been here three or four years, had been employed by his master to apply to Lord Chesterfield[2], to know whether, by means of the Duchess of Kendal, his Prussian Majesty could not learn more particulars, than he yet knew, of the late King George the First his will.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that old Withers[3] told him, that at the siege of Tournay, having a mind to see an attack that was to be made, where the Prince of Anhalt Dessau[4] commanded as Lieutenant-

[1] Viscount Cobham, a field-marshal.

[2] Lady Chesterfield was the Duchess of Kendal's niece, or daughter.

[3] A general officer of high honour and courage.

[4] This prince, whose statue stands in the garden of the castle at Berlin, was the founder of the discipline of the Prussian foot, which distinguished itself by this discipline and its courage in the wars of King William, and of Queen Anne, particularly at the siege of Namur, at the battle of Turin, where this prince commanded it, and at Malplaquet. When their king consented in 1709 to augment his troops serving with the allies with 5000 men, the Duke of Marlborough, as Coxe informs us, considered this as an acquisition of no ordinary value, expressing to Lord Godolphin, and to Lord Raby, then envoy at Berlin, the highest opinion of their valour and discipline. The prince of Anhalt Des-

General on duty that day, and for this purpose returning into the trenches after all the troops had marched, as he passed by a hovel made up in them for soldiers to sleep in safe, he saw the Prince of Dessau hid in it, and made him a bow as he went by him.

Lord Bolingbroke said, that to be sure it was right, when the French were in Germany meditating the siege of Vienna, for England to put a stop to them, and to endeavour by a short war to obtain the best composition possible for the Queen of Hungary, so as to have preserved her still a superior power in Germany to oppose to France, and at one and the same time to have put an end to the German, Italian, and Spanish war; that Carteret had imposed upon him, and made him believe this was his scheme; but now we were engaged in a long war, or that Prussia would force a peace, which would relate only to Germany, and then we should be left alone engaged in a war with France and Spain. He told me, that about the year 1734 some piece of news coming to be known after the debate on the Hessians, Lord Chesterfield, and Sir William Wyndham sitting with him, said, that had they known it sooner, it would have had a very great effect in the debate. Lord Bolingbroke said to them, that they ought to, and might have known it, and such news; and that if they would support him in it, and in the expence of it, he would un-

sau was a man of considerable talents, but of an unamiable disposition. Frederick the Second speaks of him as having had qualities dangerous in a subject.

dertake they should be informed; but that they both declined it.

August 14th. Tuesday.

Lord Stair shewed me a paper, he said, he had yesterday given the King, wherein he proposed marching with sixty battalions and one hundred squadrons to Paris, leaving forty battalions and a number of squadrons in Flanders, which country would be safe by means of a strong garrison in Antwerp, and another in Ostend; for the open country must always yield to the strongest army. He said to me, that this project heretofore the opposition had joined to laugh at, and had said, Lord Marlborough had never thought of it, which was not true; and that he had told Lord Cobham so; and that he would reason with him before any reasonable men as judges. He told me, that our ministers would do nothing in the Low Countries, because they had nobody to execute any thing, and that they would let nothing be done but by their creatures. He told me, that the facts in the King of Prussia's rescript[1] were not true, and that the alliance he mentioned for certain bishopricks was no more than what he himself had proposed.

August 16th. Thursday.

Lord Bolingbroke, upon letters from France, came to town and told me, that the Bishop of Soissons, the King of France's first chaplain, and who, by his order, had fol-

[1] His manifesto of the 10th August, N. S. speaks of certain bishopricks held out as lures by the Queen of Hungary.

lowed him to Metz[1]; and M. Malherbe, major of the Life Guard, had wrote, that the King of France, frightened in his illness, had been spoke to by the Bishop of Soissons with great freedom, firmness, and strength, insomuch, that, having received all the sacraments, he sent in for the people about him, and asked them pardon for the ill example he had given them, and declared, that he did not desire to live for any other reason, but to set a better example, and to take more care of his people. He then asked, whether Madame de Tournon[2] and De L'Oreya were returned to Paris; and on being told they were about four leagues off, he said that to punish 'em for disobeying, he discharged Tournon from being superintendent of the family of the Dauphine, and L'Oreya from being her mistress of the robes, so that the faction of the Duke of Richelieu and the women was looked upon to be disgraced, and a new turn in the interior of that court was expected. Lord Bolingbroke said, that M. Matignon wrote in great hopes of it, and that this turn, if we made use of it, might open a negociation for a peace, since the enemies to the war in France would desire it; that he thought it might be used so as to compensate for what Prussia had done; that he would propose trying by the Marechal de Noailles, who was at Strasburgh, although it was now said he

[1] Where he fell dangerously ill on his way to join his army, the Austrians under Prince Charles having already made incursions into Lorraine with their light troops.

[2] Madame de Chateauroux and Madame de Lauraguais.

had a private understanding with Belleisle[1]; that the Queen was arrived at Metz the 17th, and that the 21st the King was thought out of danger; that Cardinal Tencin was gone to Metz unsent for, and that though the Pretender's son was not returned to Italy, it continued an impenetrable secret where he was, nor had it been known since he was at Gravelines, after which it had been proposed to send him to the Bishop of Soissons, but that he, the Bishop, had declined it. Lord Bolingbroke said, that though much might be done at the court of France now, we should neglect it, as we did in Cardinal Fleury's time, when, though it was evident a turn might be made, we had nobody there but Thomson; that, therefore, the Pelhams ought to be animated to do something, since the other side in the ministry would do nothing, and therefore he was not sorry he had missed Winchelsea, and that 70,000 men useless in Flanders, and 40,000 the same in Italy, the only active army in Alsace now stopt by the motions of Prussia, and at best a defence in Piedmont, were not an equivalent for six millions a-year.

August 18th. Saturday. M. d'Andrié told me, that after the treaty of Breslau[2], Lord Carteret had said, that now the two families of Brandeburgh and Hanover should put an end to all

[1] The marshal.

[2] Of the 11th June, 1742, by which peace was made between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia. This was a preliminary act; the Declaration of Peace was dated the 23d July, 1742.

their disputes; and that the King of Prussia, on his notifying this to him, had sent him full powers to conclude all his disputes, and that even he had bid him tell Lord Carteret, that he would agree to whatever he decided in 'em; that Lord Carteret had told him, that he could do nothing about 'em, but had told the King, that, as Elector in Germany, he ought always to take off his hat to the Elector of Brandeburgh; that when this was first begun, the King of England had desired, that Osnaburgh might be secured to his family, to which Prussia consented; that they began to negociate for the peace of Germany in concert with Prussia, and that it was to be done by means of secularisations; that Prince William of Hesse was the channel; and that he brought it so far, that the Emperor[1] gave up all his pretensions to the dominions of the Queen of Hungary, provided he was restored to his own dominions, and that he was enabled to support the dignity of emperor, for which he thought six millions necessary; that, being a Catholic prince, he could not seem to ask or agree to secularisations, but that it was meant to secularise for him some ecclesiastical states. M. d'Andrié named the Bishop of Saltzburgh as possessing two millions a-year, so that he seemed to be meant; that these last proposals were given Lord Carteret after the battle of

[1] A treaty was signed at Hanau, when George the Second was on the Mein, according to which the Emperor was to withdraw his pretensions on the Austrian succession, and join the Allies for the pacification of Germany, on being subsidised by England. But the English government refused to ratify it.

Dettingen, and that, upon seeing 'em, he said things were ready for signing; but after that there never was any more said about it; that, since that, Lord Carteret had expressed his sorrow that these propositions were not signed, and said to Andrié, 'You 'know one cannot always guide one's master;' whereupon Andrié said laughing, 'The King of 'Prussia then will guide him.'

He said, that after the treaty of Breslau the negociation was begun on the principle of taking no more from the Queen of Hungary. He said, that this neglect of Prince William of Hesse, who had carried on the negociation, and the King's refusing to see him afterwards, had exasperated him so, that he could not get his troops, and he is entered to other measures.

He said, that the Elector Palatine being refused the money due for passing through his states, after he had letters from Lord Carteret, and our generals, had exasperated him, and that the reason given for refusing him was, because he did not enter into our ideas; that he knew nothing of the alliance mentioned in the rescript[1], except as to what related to Finale[2] (meaning the fiefs of the empire), but that he believed there was such a one.

[1] The Prussian manifesto asserted the existence of alliances concluded by the Queen of Hungary, to indemnify certain powers for the extraordinary succours which they had afforded her.

[2] Finale was mortgaged to the Genoese; but Austria by the treaty of Worms ceded her rights to that marquisate to Sardinia; requested the Genoese to facilitate that cession on being paid; but stipulated that neither she nor Sardinia be obliged to contribute to that payment.

He said, that the Hanover disputes about trifles hindered the friendship between the two houses; that he had seen writings as high as the table about a strip of boundary not so large as his handkerchief, and that duties raised on the subjects remained in deposit because the Hanoverians would not come to any decision; that they had applied to his master to remove one of his officers on the Elbe, and that when he had answered, that he was satisfied with him, and would not remove him without a reason, they took offence at it; that although his master was in possession of East Friesland, and his differences thereupon were adjusted with the Dutch, who had acknowledged him as prince of it, as the Queen of Hungary had done too, the King of England would not; that he had presented two letters about it, but could get no answer; and that he expected an order *de leur dire des sottises là-dessus.*

He said he would get the dates of the propositions by the Emperor, and of the alliance, &c. from Baron Haslang[1].

He said, that at the time of refusing the Prince of Hesse's last step in the negociation, *i. e.* the Emperor's offers, Mr. Wassenaer was just returned from Vienna. He told me, that there was great regard shewed to the Prince of Wales by the King of Prussia, who had ordered him to tell the Prince, that, if he was on the throne, he believed their differences would be soon adjusted.

[1] Bavarian Envoy. His master was then Emperor.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that when Carteret talked to him about our affairs, he said, as to the constitution it is altered; we need not now seek the approbation of particular people. He told me, that Villiers[1] was sent with money, 120,000*l.*, to Saxony, to induce him to arm, the same sum that had been stipulated in the treaty[2] that the other ministers refused to ratify; that he had writ to the Chancellor, that our profusion would not help us, but resembled that of Limberham in the play, who gave much to a mercenary wench he could not enjoy.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, the French King was quite well, but the two ladies Chateauroux, or Tournelle, and L'Oreya, were returned to Paris, and, it was said, were to go into Burgundy, or Berry; that the King had received the Queen with great *attendrissement*, and said to her, that he asked her pardon for all the uneasiness and pain he had given her; but for the future, he would live in perfect union with her; that this turn had been long expected, on the first illness the King had, and that the Duke of Orleans's devotion began in the same manner, and that it would probably last, the King being of a weak constitution.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that Carteret had done all he could to get his lady into the King's

[1] Afterwards Earl of Clarendon.

[2] The King had agreed to give up the treaty with Saxony in the preceding month of June.

Saturday parties of diversion at Richmond, but in vain, for the King had made a jest of it, and laughed it off.

He told me, that the Chancellor[1] always spoke of the King with the utmost contempt,' and that Carteret never named him but with some sarcasm, and that, by what he heard, that he could depend, Pelham and the rest did the same.

August 19th. Sunday.

Lord Stair told me the answer to his first paper was come back; that Wade was fallen ill about that time, and what he thought of it did not signify, but that d'Aremberg began his opinion (of which he would shew me the original, but Keith, his secretary, had it then) with provising and approving the proposal; but when it came to the detail, he found it impracticable in every part; that Lord Stair had writ an answer to it, and, among other things in it, said, he wondered d'Aremberg could find any difficulty in subsisting now in France, since he found none two years ago, when they had not the same advantages. He said, that d'Aremberg having been bought off at that time would never since approve any thing that came from him; that he had sent to Lord Carteret to come to him yesterday, and had shewed him the

[1] Lord Bolingbroke must here have spoken what he would fain, rather than what he seriously did believe. It is inconsistent with the whole policy of three of the parties,—with the decency of Mr. Pelham's character, with the courtier-spirit of the Duke of Newcastle, and with the wisdom and dignified feelings of Lord Hardwicke. Lord Carteret was strangely reckless; but he was ill with his colleagues, and was courting the King's favour at whatever cost it might be.

answer, which Carteret said was very right, and that he would send it over by the messenger, and at night sent him word he had done so; that he had said nothing, but smiled at all this amusement; that d'Aremberg ended with proposing the siege of Maubeuge, which Lord Stair laughed at, as they had no artillery; as the season was so far advanced, that they might not take it; and if they did, it led to nothing. D'Aremberg's great objection was, that Lord Stair's proposal was only to make courses into the enemies' country; he said, the answer from Vienna was not come yet, but he supposed that court would approve of his proposal; that Wassenaer was like d'Aremberg, absolutely Carteret's man; that he had found out in conversation, that it was Lord Carteret had kept the artillery back, in order to induce the Dutch to engage to furnish a quota towards a siege, such as the expence of fascines, pioneers, and tools, &c. which might be about 5000*l.* or 6000*l.* sterling, for we were willing to furnish the artillery, powder, and balls, that were at Ostend.

He shewed me a short paper proposing to take winter-quarters on the Seine, and possessing ourselves of Rouen, &c., whereby we might reinforce our troops by sea, which he said he would give the King when he took leave of him; it was dated the 20th August; and that, now they were frightened, he supposed they would accept of it, for it was not liable to the least accident, and was the only way

of ending the war, and not losing the effect of an army of one hundred battalions and one hundred and twenty-four squadrons, whereas if we lost this campaign, this nation was totally ruined, and brought to submit to France.

August 27th. Monday. Lord Bolingbroke told me, that this nation was reduced now to a situation wherein no man in his senses would desire to treat; that we could not put ourselves into a condition to treat; that he feared the only thing we had to do was to leave Germany to pacify itself; make the best composition we could for the Low Countries; and, calling home our troops, turn our whole force to the sea, against France and Spain; that in order to bring the Dutch to act, we should tell 'em, that we would leave 12,000 men in the Low Countries according to treaty, and the rest we must use for our own defence. He said, he did not mean we should do it, but say it, to induce them to exert themselves in a cause that so immediately concerned them.

August 28th. Tuesday. M. d'Andrié told me, that it was wrote to him from Germany, that the notes to the Prussian [1] Exposé, which I saw yesterday, were wrote by the King of Prussia himself; that he had received the paper from Germany; that in the treaty last year in Germany with

[1] The King of Prussia's rescript to M. d'Andrié is of the 8th of August. He evidently designates Lord Carteret in it, in speaking of 'those amongst the 'English, who strive to make their countrymen enter into foreign quarrels, that 'are of no manner of concern to England.'

the Emperor, the King of Prussia had offered to assist the Emperor with 200,000 or 300,000 thalers[1], and that Lord Carteret promised about 20,000*l.* sterling; and the order for it was signed before the treaty broke off; that, upon publishing the rescript, Lord Carteret had told him, there were many things in it that would make a deep impression here, and that therefore he, M. d'Andrié, must expect to have all his steps watched; that on the treaty of Breslau the King of England had, with his own hand, assured the King of Prussia, that no steps towards a peace should be taken but in concert with him; but that we had immediately insinuated to the Emperor, that he must expect nothing by the means or assistance of Prussia, and so had tried to sow division between these courts; but the Emperor discovered it to Prussia; and he shewed me an instruction to him from the King of Prussia, wherein he is ordered to urge this conduct as a reason, why, after rejecting the negociation last year, Prussia had again united with the Emperor; that Carteret held a different language to him and to Haslang, which he had reported to his master; and he shewed me the instruction he had received with regard to it, dated 22d August, wherein the King of Prussia says, it is agreeable to the rest of Carteret's conduct, and goes on telling him to vindicate his (the King's) conduct, on the principles of a German Prince desirous of peace, and in opposition to the ambitious views of

[1] Prussian—at about 3*s.* each.

the Austrians, and mentions France as acting as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, and that therefore there is no reason to make war against France; that the King of Prussia had wrote to him, that the King of Sardinia had made his peace with the Spaniards.

He shewed me an instruction, telling him that Saxony had given passage to his troops upon the requisition of the Emperor; and he told me, that the answer our ministers had given the Saxon as to money was, that they were engaging the States-General to declare war against France, and then they would pay him in concert.

He said, that he had got as yet no answer in relation to East Friesland; and that when he spoke to Carteret, he told him he might do what he pleased in it, and that he had accordingly wrote to his master; that whenever the least thing was mentioned to the King with regard to Prussia, he said always, *Il faut s'y opposer.*

He said, that this summer he had applied for a convoy for thirty horses bought in Yorkshire for his master, which, after being promised him, difficulties were made about it, and therefore he delayed till the Dutch and our own troops were sent over, that there might be no real difficulty in it; that when, after that the Prussian Ecuyer applied to him, he told him to go to the Admiralty and inquire about it, which he did, but he was treated with great brutality by one of the clerks to whom he applied, and

told there was none for him; upon which the Ecuyer wrote to his master, who sent for Lord Hyndford[1], and used him in the worst manner, saying, he had personally a great regard for him however, but using the ministers here like dogs, who refused him what they gave every little merchant; that Lord Hyndford complained to the King and to Lord Carteret how unhappy he was, and that thereupon inquiry was made who was the clerk; but the horses were sent away without a convoy; that there were disputes between the Prince of Hesse and the Elector of Mentz, and between the Electors Palatine and Mentz; and that upon our giving money to Mentz, and his engaging for us, the others were now going to fall upon him; that hereupon he had asked Lord Carteret how we should support our ally, and why we threw away our money so; that Carteret said, it was always a vote in the empire; and he replied, 'Then you have further views than the present;' that the Elector of Cologne was gone to Hamburgh to divert himself, and spend the money we had given him, but that he could raise no troops but in Munster by the states of that bishoprick; and the King of Prussia, by being director of the circle, could stop it; that the Swedish minister had said the other day, that the King[2] was very much dissatisfied at the unworthy manner in which his

[1] Sent as envoy to Berlin in 1741, and as ambassador to Petersburgh in 1744.

[2] The King of Sweden was Elector of Hesse Cassel, and as such was a party to the treaty of Frankfort.

brother had been used, and had added, 'We shall 'not be satisfied without Bremen and Verden.'

September 1st. Saturday.

Lord Chesterfield told me, that formerly speaking to the King about the Dutch being alarmed at the prospect of the King of Prussia's getting East Friesland, and being willing to oppose it, the King told him, 'I 'shall support 'em in that, for I have the right to it.' Lord Chesterfield, surprised, asked him How? He said, one of his family had been married to one of the East Friesland, whereupon a *pactum familiæ* had passed of mutual succession to each other's dominions, failing heirs-male.

He told me, that on talking to Lord Stair, and wishing his election might not bring him into difficulties, Lord Stair had said, that if things did not alter so as to prevent that, he would stay in Scotland; whereupon Lord Chesterfield said, if he took the first step, he had best take the second; that a Scotsman had been with him this morning, to tell him, that Carteret and Tweeddale underhand were making an opposition to Lord Stair, to get Lord Aberdeen chosen; and that the Pelhams had just discovered it, and were bestirring themselves to get Lord Stair's election secured.

He said, d'Andrié had once been with him to inquire about the late King's will, but that he would[1] tell him nothing; that he would see him and Haslang this evening at Ranelagh Gardens, and so

[1] See Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 459.

would try them. He read me a letter he had received, he said, from the ablest man in Holland, wherein he said, the League at Frankfort was signed the 22d May, and that Mons. Twickell[1], on his return to the French court, had felt the effects of it, finding the French quite untractable. He complained that, after the States had lost two towns in the spring, nothing had been done to repair the loss, after the great detachment of French to Alsace had left our army greatly superior; and of the Frieslanders, who, having been the principals in driving 'em into vigorous measures, now stopped every thing by insisting on the Prince of Orange's advancement. He said, our minister[2] at the Hague caressed nobody but his wife; he called the step of the King of Prussia *une démarche horrible*, &c. He said, they had called away their troops from Embden and Lieroort; and he expressed his wonder, what their minister extraordinary was doing in England.

Sept. 2d. Sunday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that La Boulie at Calais, an old and good officer, told him that in 1742 we might have taken Dunkirk as easily as they should take Furnes (which they were then besieging), for that we need only break ground to erect one battery, which would bring down all the works they had made of that sandy earth; that the works were too large to be

[1] Wassenaer Twickell, then Dutch ambassador at Paris.

[2] Mr. Trevor, afterwards Viscount Hampden.

defended, for which reason they have since made 'em nearer; and besides at two places, and at low water, we might take 'em in flank.

Lord Chesterfield told us, he met the Sardinian, Prussian, and Imperial ministers, at Ranelagh Gardens; that they said, they had proofs of all the King of Prussia asserted in their hands; that Osorio[1] said, he knew nothing what his master had resolved, but he believed he would hold out as long as he could, and till he saw no hopes for the Queen of Hungary; that it might depend on what passed at Coni, which would make a good defence, if the five battalions the King had sent could get into it; else, there being but three in it, it could not hold out; that the minister had reckoned up fifty thousand effective men, besides France and Prussia, in the league of Frankfort, to act in Germany; that Haslang, the imperial minister, said the Duke of Wolfenbuttel had acceded to it, and was to furnish three thousand men; that Mr. Freer told him, that I had had the Remarks on the Prussian Exposé; that one of the cabinet council, who had as little reserve to him as one man could have to another, had told him at the time, that, with the treaty of Worms, there had been ratified articles of the highest and most important nature; whereupon Lord Chesterfield said, 'That is Hanover, by ——!' and the other lifted up his hands, and said nothing.

[1] The Sardinian envoy. He was Sardinian plenipotentiary for the treaty of Worms, concluded in September, 1743, between England, Austria, and Sardinia.

Lord Bolingbroke said, that the Chancellor[1] had said to him, that in a treaty whereby we were to give so much to the Queen of Hungary, there was nothing reciprocal, which did not agree with the other; but indeed he had said, that as the treaty came over, he would never set the seal to it.

Lord Chesterfield said, that Carteret had complained of what they had done, saying, they had mangled and spoiled his treaty, which before was a very good one.

Lord Bolingbroke said, that now he thought the pathetic style should be used to the Pelhams, and all particular bargains laid aside; but it should be tried to persuade 'em to act upon an English plan, and, in general, told 'em, they should be supported in it, and if they did not succeed in the closet, they should be supported in the parliament with facts; and that he would sound the Solicitor-General, whether he would join to support them in screening, if it came to that, but only in general; Lord Chesterfield agreed to all this. Lord Chesterfield said, he believed he could get the date of the treaty lately made with Saxony, whereby the subsidy was granted, but that was refused to be ratified. Lord Chesterfield told me, this was business and not fribbling; but that it was essential to get the article for Osnabruck, &c.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, he had spoken to Sir Charles Wyndham; that he did not blame his attachment to one who was his

Sept. 3d. Monday.

[1] Lord Hardwicke.

relation, and much less to the prince; but he should not engage himself too far, so as to set his name to what no Englishman could approve without infamy.

Sept. 4th. Tuesday.

M. d'Andrié told me, that it was public in Holland, and wrote to him by the Prussian secretary, that Lord Carteret had said, he had in his hands what would make the King of Prussia repent, and punish him for his temerity; that if this came to the King of Prussia's ears, it would have most terrible effects; that Carteret had said to him, that he was perfectly easy as to himself; that he had done nothing but what he ought to do; that if any examination was begun in parliament he would oppose it, and hinder it; but that if by any other way a discovery should be made, it would appear he had acted like an honest man. D'Andrié said this must be; that he acted by the King's order, and to please the King; that Carteret had added, that all he had done was *entre six yeux*, and therefore could not be known.

He said, Carteret had received twelve copies of the Remarks on the Exposé.

He said, that the King formerly in a certain letter, had turned his back upon him; and that he had complained of it to Lord Harrington, and, on other occasions since, to Lord Carteret; and that they had both begged him to continue to go to court; that it was a weakness in the King; but that the King of Prussia having heard of it had told Lord

Hyndford, that he had a great regard for him personally, but he must not expect other treatment than his minister found, and that he had treated him accordingly, and had wrote to d'Andrié to tell Lord Carteret, that all these *hauteurs ne tomberoient pas dans une terre ingrate ;* that the King had never spoke one word to the Count Finck[1], who went to Hanover from the King of Prussia after the breaking off the negociation at Hanau and Mayence.

He said, that France would never have given the neutrality to Hanover, had it not been for the King of Prussia; and that the King of England had wrote to the King of Prussia to thank him for it.

He said, he had a copy of the league of Frankfort; that it was plain and simple, and that Haslang had shewed it to Lord Carteret, who said, that there was a secret article to it of another kind.

He said, that all the hopes from Russia were over, and that an ambassador was coming from thence to the Emperor; and so far from being well in Sweden, he asserted, that *ma foy Bremen et Verden sauteroit ;* but he evaded entering into particulars.

He said Lord Chomley[2] had come to sit by him at Ranelagh Gardens, and had been forced to begin the conversation by asking how these things in the King's Exposé, having passed *entre quatre yeux*, could be published? and he answered that they were public in Germany, so that every body might

[1] Of Finckenstein, a Prussian minister of state for more than half a century.

[2] Lord Cholmondeley, son-in-law to the Earl of Orford, and Privy Seal.

read them; whereupon Lord Chomley said, then they will soon be known in England; that he added, that the Prince of Hesse was a great prince; Andrié said, the manner in which we had treated him was the more unworthy.

He said Lord Chomley would have gone to Berlin in the stead of Lord Hyndford, but that he insisted on full powers, and said he would act as English minister, and not be accountable to Hanoverians, but to the parliament of England.

He assured me I should have the papers in seven or eight days.

He said Lord Chesterfield had said to him, that he would believe the facts as related by the King of Prussia, till the contrary was proved.

He said that the assignation for 100,000 crowns to be paid by England to the Emperor was ready to be signed, the King of Prussia giving 300,000 to support the Emperor till his dominions were restored, when the treaty[1] broke off; that, on Lord Carteret's saying to him that they never thought of annulling the Emperor's election, he had asked him, whether he thought then peace could be made without something to enable the Emperor to support his dignity; that the peace with Spain had been spoke of in the negociation; and that the King of Prussia promised to act in concert in it, and treated it as easy when the alliance of the empire was made; that in this negociation *nous avions la representation,* and France had nothing to do, whereas now

[1] Of Hanau.

France took our place; that Lord Carteret had said, he had forces enough to turn the scales yet in his power,—the devil take him if he had not:—this both to Haslang and to him.

September 5th. Wednesday.

Lord Chesterfield told me, that Lord Stair[1] had a fit of the apoplexy in his coach going to Kensington with Lord Harrington[2], who had got assistance at Kensington, and recovered him, and then sent him to town; that by Lord Chomley buying lately a great gilt coach of the Duchess of Kendal's, he knew he had some notion of going abroad with a character; but he did not believe the reason that stopped him was what Andrié gave, for he was too willing to join with the court, to refuse doing Hanover business; and he had been last year the *mezzo termino* between Lord Orford and Carteret in bringing the Pelhams and courtiers to join for Hanover troops, &c.

Sept. 7th. Friday.

Mr. Pitt told me, that the Prince's attachment to Lord Carteret was much weakened; that he bore to be talked to about it; that the Prince had talked to him of him only as a man of great ideas in foreign affairs, and had not been offended when he said he would soon be as much exploded as Horace Walpole, and that the events that shewed his inability were none of 'em fortuitous, but the natural effects of the measures he pursued; that the Prince had concluded with great assurances of his regard for him.

[1] He died in 1747. [2] President of the Council.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that about forty years ago, he had read King William's plan for making war in the West Indies, which had been formed in concert with the ablest seamen in Holland, and with Sir George Rooke and others in England; that in general it was to let loose all our buccaneers, privateers, &c., on the West Indies, and to assist them with the King's ships and land forces, to take post only in proper places, so as to secure their retreat; and in this manner to ravage the country, and interrupt their trade; and he believed, the French would not be able to prevent their Martinico men joining us.

Sept. 10th. Monday.

M. d'Andrié told me, that Mr. Alt, minister of Hesse, had received from Prince William a *species facti*, containing all that passed in the negociation in 1743, with orders to communicate it to the friends of the House of Hesse; that he was to shew it to Lords Carteret and Harrington, and tell them of his orders, and that he would shew it to me; that it contained surprising anecdotes, but he doubted whether he would give a copy of it. He read to me the instruction from the King of Prussia, in relation to what is advanced by the court of Vienna; and until he receives a more ample answer to it, wherein he asserts, that as to what passed at Snellenberg[1] in Silesia, there never

[1] The Convention of Ober Schnellendorf of the 9th October, 1741, drawn up and signed by Lord Hyndford, and verbally assented to by the King of Prussia; it procured to Austria a seasonable suspension of that monarch's hostilities, but at the expence of cessions.

was anything signed by the King of Prussia, or any of his ministers having full powers, all done there being only plans or proposals by the mediator, Lord Hyndford; and that as to the secret article of the league, it is false that there is in it such a secret article as is given out by the court of Vienna. He said that the Empress of Russia had answered to Lord Tyrawley's[1] memorial, that it was a matter of consequence of which she would consider, and give an answer to it when she returned from a journey she was going to undertake; that Lord Tyrawley having asked the ministers where the Empress would return to, to answer him, Moscow or Petersburgh, they told him they did not know; that the Empress had ordered her minister at Vienna, in case he had not yet got it, to demand an exemplary satisfaction for the affair of the Marquis de Botta[2]; and, if he did not obtain it in twenty-four hours, to leave the court.

Sept. 13th. Thursday.

Lord Chesterfield told me, that Lord Leicester had said, that the body of their party never would screen Carteret, and that Pelham, if he would, could not obtain it of Sir Harry Liddel, his son Mr. Coke, nor even of Lord Harrington; that Lord Bath[3] was mustering a

[1] British ambassador at Petersburgh.

[2] The Marquis de Botta d'Adorno was accused by the court of Petersburgh, where he had been accredited as Austrian minister, of having entered into a conspiracy. Maria Theresa thought it expedient to disavow and imprison him, and thus disconcerted a French intrigue built on this accusation, and retained Russia in her interests.

[3] William Pulteney, created Earl of Bath in 1742.

set of honest men, who should be free from the fury of the opposition, [and] consult the interest of their country without regarding the frowns or offers of the court; that for this Lord Limerick had put off his journey into Ireland, and that Lord and Lady Bath laid close siege to Lady Betty Murray[1], living with her at Richmond; that Lord Bath's view was to intimidate the court, so as to obtain the garter, which, when it was last spoke of, the King had absolutely refused, and thereupon the promotion had been put off till next winter, to the great grief of Lord Harrington, who cried for the garter; and there was a dispute about it—Lord Carteret intending to have it, and Mr. Pelham thinking, in that case, he ought to have it, to preserve an equality.

He asked me if Mr. Pitt had not told me, that the Prince was much come off from his opinion of Carteret. I said he had; then he said, to bring him quite off, there wanted a short state of his conduct, about a sheet of paper, to shew that in Carteret's own plan he had neither acted as an able English minister, nor Hanover one; that it should quote treaties to stun him, for he loved that. He said, Sir Luke Schaub told him that the King's pretension to East Friesland was unanswerable; that it was founded on a *pactum familiæ* confirmed both by the Emperor and Empire; and that he be-

[1] Mr. Murray married in 1738 the Lady Elizabeth Finch, daughter of the Earl of Winchelsea.

lieved there was an account of it in the *Theatrum Pretensionum*, in which case he would send it to him; but he had not sent it. He said Monsieur Hopp[1] had told him that he went to see Boetzelaer, as the extraordinary minister, but he told him nothing; that he had asked if he was doing nothing, and Boetzelaer said 'No,' but that he staid because he had no orders from his master to return; that he passed his time with Lord Carteret, who, he believed, made use of him to keep up his party in Holland, but that it was to no purpose, for the Dutch would not declare war, and that they had already done more than we could in justice demand, seeing there were forty-five thousand men in their pay under our and the Queen of Hungary's command, besides ships; but that our generals did not know how to use them; that the treaty at Hanover[2], &c., was to be the subject of every paper till the meeting of parliament; and a little before that they should all be collected in a pamphlet.

Sept. 17th. Monday.

Lord Chesterfield told Lord Bolingbroke and me that last Saturday night Andrié had told him, that having asked the Duke of Newcastle whether the regency had refused to agree to the treaty at Hanau, the Duke had said, that it was true, for there being 50,000*l.* to be paid to the Emperor, (*i. e.* 300,000 crowns,) how could they accept of such a treaty in the interval of parliament?

[1] Dutch minister at the British Court.

[2] It is evident, that *Hanau* should be read here, instead of *Hanover*.

He said, that Andrié was to send him the account of the King's pretension to East Friesland; and that he had said he expected his master's orders to communicate the other papers; that as to Mr. Alt, he would not shew what Prince William of Hesse had sent him, pretending his orders were only to shew it to the friends of the family of Hesse. To this Lord Chesterfield said, that Andrié might get a copy of it, being an ally; and that he would give his word it should never be made public, and only used in parliament where proofs were necessary; for as to himself, he was persuaded of the truth of what the King of Prussia advanced. He told us, he believed he should get the papers. Lord Bolingbroke told us, Sir Charles Wyndham had said, that, asking Carteret what he should say as his friend to all that was adoing, Carteret bade him say nothing, and time would clear up all; but on pressing him as his friend, he said to him, that he must support the King's prerogative to suffer no examination; but that if all should be discovered, he would appear to have done his duty.

Sept. 22d. Saturday.

M. Andrié shewed me a letter signed by the King of Prussia from before Prague, 16th inst., mentioning the taking of the town, after five days' siege. At the end of it, he says, that since Lord Carteret had given him the *démenti* concerning the facts he had advanced, he should make him, Carteret, *demeurer avec sa courte honte*, for he had ordered the proofs to be sent

from Berlin to Andrié, and his minister at the Hague to transmit to him what had been communicated to the Pensionary at the Hague from the Prince of Hesse Cassel; and he ordered Andrié to shew all of 'em to whomsoever he thought proper. He told me, he had received the King's answer to the Queen of Hungary, but that it was in German; and that he would let me know when I could see it, and the others also.

Sept. 27th. Thursday.

Lord Chesterfield told me, that it was true, that Lord Carteret had convinced Andrié, that the rejecting the Treaty of Hanau was owing to the Regency in England, contrary to Carteret's opinion, who thought, and did still think it a good treaty; and that Andrié had accordingly written to the King of Prussia.

He told me, that the Duke of Dorset[1], who wished well to the opposition, because he hated Carteret, and would be glad to give him any stab he could in the dark, and with safety, had bid Lady Allen, where Lady Chesterfield had seen him, tell Lord Chesterfield, that the opposition should be cautious, for they were upon a wrong scent, when they found fault with the rejecting the treaty proposed at Hanau; that Carteret had been for the treaty, and it had been rejected here by Lord Harrington, the Lord Chancellor, and [the] Duke of Newcastle, as pernicious, tying England down to a perpetual subsidy to the Emperor; and that they

[1] Lord Steward.

had looked upon it as an engine in their hands, to be used some time or other against Carteret.

He told me, that a person, not a man of business, being some days ago in a coach with the Duke of Newcastle, and another cabinet counsellor, who were complaining of Lord Carteret, and blaming him, this man, who was not a man of business, said bluntly, 'If you are displeased with him, why don't 'you turn him out?' to which the Duke of Newcastle (I think) answered, 'If we did, who could 'we take in his place? for the opposition won't join 'us but upon an alteration of measures, which the 'King will never be easy with, nor consent to.' In further conversation they expressed their confidence, that a peace would surely be made this winter, and then they would be easy; to which Lord Chesterfield said to this person, 'Why don't the 'boobies see, that Carteret, who has got the closet, 'will, when peace is made, not be easy, till he is 'the domestic minister too?'

He said, that talking to Boetzelaer, who he said was the weakest man he had ever seen, he had told him that he hoped his masters, the Dutch, since they were getting themselves out of the scrape, would, like old friends, take us along with them; and that Boetzelaer admitted the Dutch were getting themselves out of it, by answering, that we ought to consider the Dutch were not so rich as we, and nearer to the danger. Lord Bolingbroke, on telling him how the negociation of Hanau was

now represented, said, he did not believe it, but that here was some lie or other to deceive people and mislead 'em, and that perhaps Carteret had gained Andrié; but that he could only say, what I had said to Lord Chesterfield, that we were to suppose it as we now saw it, and condemned the refusing it, whoever did it; and if it proved, as it is now represented, which was inconsistent with all that had been said about it last year by every body, the treaty itself ought to be condemned, but the conduct subsequent to it should be condemned too; that, if what the Duke of Newcastle said of the opposition was true, and if the ministry intended to pursue the measures, he said were most agreeable in the closet, he thought it was not eligible for the opposition to coalite with them. He said, he believed our ministry might have insisted on Prince Charles passing the Rhine against the opinion of the court of Vienna; for that Lord Stair had said to him at the time, that if Prince Charles got over the Rhine, not a prince in Germany would dare to stir; and the King of Prussia would think twice, before he declared against the Queen of Hungary.

Sept. 29th. Saturday.

M. Andrié told me, that Baron Haslang was to get the papers from his court soon, having got an answer promising them; that the court of England had stopped the arrears due to Prince William of Hesse, and perhaps now had paid 'em, which might be the meaning of the order given to Mr. Mann, the Prince's

minister at the Hague, who had showed the paper the Prince had sent there, to let the matter insensibly drop, since it had produced its desired effect. He said, when the paper was read to the Pensionary and Greffier, they expressed the greatest surprise and concern, that the opportunity was lost.

Lord Chesterfield [said], that Charles Stanhope[1], to whom his brother told everything, told him, that by the treaty of Hanau the Austrian Netherlands were to be given to the Emperor to make up his kingdom, and that his yearly revenue was to be six millions of florins, which we were to pay till he was in possession of his kingdom, whereupon Lord Chesterfield agreed with me, that Carteret must have cheated the regency by misrepresenting the treaty, to make them break it off.

October 1st. Monday. Lord Bolingbroke told me, that there was no danger of any connexion formed at Richmond between Lord Bath and Mr. Murray's family, for Lady Betty Murray had avoided any intercourse with them, and told him that Lord and Lady Bath were the ridicule of the place for their avarice, which was grown up to the greatest excess; that Lord Bath had told her, that finding every body at court dejected, he had gone to Carteret, and told him he was sorry that things seemed to be in a very bad state; and that Carteret had answered him, rubbing his hands, 'My Lord, everything goes very well.' She said,

[1] A member of Parliament, the elder brother of the Earl of Harrington.

his manner provoked Lord Bath so, that he railed everywhere aloud at Lord Carteret.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that Pitt had wrote to Lord Chesterfield, that one of the Grenvilles had come to Bath, he thought pretty much on purpose to insinuate, that they wanted only to be asked to concur in the same way of thinking, which had determined Lord Chesterfield to go to Lord Cobham.

He said, I ought to talk to Andrié on two points; 1. That my friends were of opinion that the connexion between this nation and the King of Prussia ought to be cultivated, being founded upon our true interest, and he being the only power, we could set up against France, if the House of Austria failed, which I might say, we thought failed already;

2. That they were convinced by the papers, that the King of Prussia had acted a fair and open part, and given the English ministry timely notice of his resolutions to support the Emperor during the negociation at Hanau last year; and that if I saw he entered into this, I might add,

3. That, considering the necessity there was for the interests of this country to preserve the present royal family on the throne here, and which the King of Prussia felt as we did, some people here began to think of a separation of the Hanover dominions from our kings, as the only efficacious means towards this end; that this I should mention,

and enlarge on, or not, as I saw how far he comprehended and entered into it.

He was of my opinion, not to be pressing to see the solicitor, Mr. Murray, but when he came to see him, to talk to him; that if the treaty at Hanau was as the King of Prussia represented it, his friends had made a *pas de clerc* in rejecting it, and therefore he believed it must have been very differently represented to 'em, but that, in either case, it behoved 'em to take some measures to save their country now, when they had no time to lose, and so forth; and that he would talk in the same friendly manner to the chancellor, after which they might do as they would. He added, that even if they had made the *pas de clerc*, he thought he saw a way of getting out of it.

October 2d. Tuesday.

M. Andrié told me, that Lord Carteret had said, that since the affairs were as they are, let the King of Prussia and the Queen of Hungary divide Germany between 'em, for that we had nothing to do with the Emperor.

He said, he did not know what views our ministers had; that the King seemed much dejected; but that he believed the Dutch would make a peace, though he could make nothing of Boetzelaer, who was a very simple man, who said only, that the Dutch were found fault with on all sides, and that they could not help pursuing their interest, and observing their engagements.

He said, that once when the King here was in

good humour, he said to Andrié, that the people here were angry at his going to Hanover, when they went all out of town to their country-seats; but it was unjust, for Hanover was his country-seat, and he had no other.

He said that a separation of Hanover from England would not do, but that the dominion there should be divided in some negociation; that in the treaty about Silesia there had been a project formed for a regulation with the King of Prussia, who had sent him full powers to conclude, but that nothing was done, the Hanover lawyers being improper negociators of such affairs, where one should cut freely to accommodate matters; that the King of Prussia was even to have yielded East Friesland because it suited Hanover, and that Hanover was to have Osnabruck likewise.

October 8th. Monday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, Mr. Murray had read to him all the papers Lord Carteret had sent over relating to the negociation [in] 1743; that Lord Carteret's letter was dated July the 5th, O. S., and the answer of the Regency was the 15th July, O. S.; that Lord Carteret sent them two papers agreed with Prince William of Hesse, who had a full power from the Emperor in his pocket; the first was a project whereof the two first articles were drawn by Lord Carteret, but in a most vague and indeterminate manner, so as to do him no honour; that by this the French were to evacuate Germany; the

Emperor was to contribute to the public good, and was to have a subsidy, to enable him to support his dignity, the lustre of the empire, &c.; and that by the second project, the Emperor was to have paid him 300,000 crowns, in three payments, at a fortnight's distance from each other, independent of the other subsidy, and distinct from it; and that of the first subsidy it was said only, *on payera;* that the lords here rejected this overture by a very good despatch, which therefore he took to be the chancellor's, and that Murray had a hand in it, for Murray had said to him that he knew of this at the time, but it was a matter too delicate to be mentioned; that the lords refused for reasons he believed would have had the same effect on him and me; but our condition would rather be made the worse for it, because we should be left with France and Spain upon our hands, and have a large and endless subsidy to pay, and not receive any assistance from any other power, after we had brought the war into Flanders (which in the letter it was mentioned, that it was hoped would be kept in Germany by not suffering the French to retire); that the evacuating of Germany was a thing already begun to be executed and extremely desired by the French themselves, but rather to be opposed than demanded by us; that besides the lords had grounds, and, he believed, good grounds, to think that the Emperor acted in concert with France; that all this was only to make a preliminary treaty,

and the subsidy to begin a month after it was signed; that Mr. Murray said, the lords here understood that they were not let into the whole secret, but that there was some German job at the bottom of it, and that this was the reason, both of the coming on, and going off, of this negociation; that Murray had said that the ministry knew that Lord Chesterfield and Lord Marchmont had seen Messieurs Haslang and Andrié, to which he had answered, that it was very natural for any man that wished well to his country to inquire how matters so important really stood; that he had observed to Mr. Murray, that there was not one word mentioned of the King of Prussia in all this affair, and that Murray answered, that Carteret had said no more about it than he read to him; that Murray had said that Hanover was actually going to be attacked, and that Prince William of Hesse was actually making magazines for that purpose now upon the frontiers of Hanover; that upon this occasion Carteret had said, the 16,000 Hanoverians[1] must return into their country, whereupon Pelham had asked, who was to pay them? and Carteret had said, 'England, to be sure;' and Pelham replied, 'What them, and 20,000 Saxons too? I will never 'consent to it;' that he [Murray] thought they must break upon this, and that the Pelhams wished nothing more than to be out.

Lord Bolingbroke said, he had said, that he

[1] Serving in the army in Flanders.

thought those who meant to serve this country should agree to support one plan, without entering into any disputes about men, and that the opposition should jolt the ministers' heads together, till they brought this matter entirely into light.

He said, that Murray was of opinion the ministers should not deny the papers in parliament, and that Murray said this Hanover plan would destroy itself, for he saw it neither would nor could be borne; that Murray had said, the Duke of Devonshire[1] had told Mr. Pelham, that though he had always been attached to Walpole, his accepting of the pension was so infamous a thing, that as a public man he never would have more to do with him, but would adhere to him, Pelham. He bade me not only inquire whether the 300,000 crowns and the other subsidy were different, but particularly what the Emperor, &c. were to do towards obtaining a general peace. He told me, Lyttelton had told him, that his master[2] had received him very kindly, but talked as madly as ever on the present conjuncture being but a trifle, that would soon be remedied, and run over his fingers battalions and squadrons, till he puzzled Lyttelton and himself too; and that at bottom it was the same Hanover views as his father, though he denied it absolutely, and said it was only the necessity there was of supporting and restoring the House of

[1] The Duke of Devonshire resigned the office of Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland in 1744. He was appointed Lord Steward in the same year.

[2] The Prince of Wales; Mr. Lyttelton was his secretary.

Austria, to maintain the balance of Europe; that Lyttelton condemned the conduct last year of the opposition, and said Lord Cobham was wild, for he talked of nothing but confusion, and that things were too bad to be otherwise mended; but that Lyttelton agreed with him, nothing was so much to be feared, since we had no men capable of bringing us out of that confusion if we fell into it; and that there was no probable way of safety but a concert with part of the ministry, though he thought it would not be so easy this year as it was the last.

He told me, Murray had said that the ministry had once thought of sending Lord Chesterfield, but that, in the situation the opposition and they are in, he would not have gone on the message, they are going to send Lord Harrington upon to the Dutch, to tell 'em, that if they will resolve to act against France with vigour, we will join 'em as formerly, but that else we cannot defend Flanders, and support the Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia too; and therefore we must retire within ourselves to make our best defence against France and Spain, and let the affairs of Europe go to ruin; that Murray had said, it was not believed France would give the Dutch peace, looking upon themselves as masters now to possess themselves of Luxemburgh.

He said, then the German princes will see their folly in raising France to the height they have done; that Murray had said, Wade and the ministry

here laid all the blame of this campaign on [the] Duke d'Aremberg, who lately, when it was proposed to attack the French at Pont d'Espierres, had said, he was going to dinner and would not stir; and that next day, after consulting on it, when it was resolved to attack the French, it was found they had retired.

October 10th. Wednesday.

Mr. Murray said, that he believed the ministers here were not let into the secret of the treaty of Hanau.

He agreed, that Lord Carteret, upon the ministers' answer from home, should not have rejected it, but tried to make it agreeable to their views. He said, the people here had never heard more of it, and therefore he doubted the negociations being carried on.

He said, he did not believe the King of Prussia had meddled in it, or made any declaration, how he would act if it was rejected.

He said, the ministers knew that Lord Chesterfield and I had had consultations with Andrié, and that he had given me papers, and treaties, or some such thing.

He said, that Hanover was a millstone about our necks, and that it neither would nor could be borne with; that it must sink itself; and that this was an admirable opportunity to separate Hanover from England. He said, he knew authentically, that Sweden[1], upon the answer given to Lord Tyrawley

[1] The King of Sweden, Landgrave of Hesse, was a party to the Union of Frankfort, signed on the 22d of May, 1744.

by Russia, had refused to accede to the league of Frankfort.

He said, he did not know what would be done, but he was of opinion, the papers relating to the negociation of Hanau should not be denied in parliament.

He said, that the King of Prussia, to conceal his connexion with France[1], had asked in the beginning of summer at the French minister before the other foreign ministers, why the French did not fight in the Mediterranean[2]? and upon the Frenchman ascribing it to the wind, the King replied, that it was the same wind that blew at Braunau.

Mr. Murray said, that he was positive there was no secret article concerning Hanover ratified along with the Treaty of Worms[3] last year.

October 13th. Saturday. Lord Bolingbroke told me, that what Mr. Murray had said to me, had not been collected from anything he had dropped to Mr.

[1] Besides the Treaty, or Union of Frankfort, the King of Prussia made a secret and particular treaty with the Emperor on the 24th July, 1744, which France guaranteed that same day.

[2] This refers to the engagement between the British fleet under Matthews, and the French and Spanish, on the 11th February, 1744, when the enemy retreated; and to the defeat of the Bavarians at Braunau, by Prince Charles of Lorraine, in April, 1743. His quality of a wit led the King of Prussia into this inconvenient and unsuitable habit of occasionally addressing questions and observations to foreign ministers, and others, from which in that of a king he had better have abstained. In his skirmish with Quintus Icilius he was decidedly worsted. But this habit grew to be too inveterate to be put off in old age, although in it he once provoked the lash of an admirable reply from a distinguished diplomatist, which, had it been applied when he was "entered," might have cured him of this sort of "riot." His brother, Prince Henry, in this as in other things, good and bad, was his imitator.

[3] Between England, the Queen of Hungary, and Sardinia, concluded September 13th, 1743.

Murray, but from what he had heard from the ministry here.

October 15th. Monday. Lord Chesterfield told me that he found Lord Cobham very indifferent, saying, all was at an end, and that if nobody was wiser than he, they would stay away; but on Lord Chesterfield's urging, that the weight of business gave a prospect of doing something, Lord Cobham said, he should advise every body to attend.

He said, that all that could be collected from what Mr. Murray talked was, that his part of the ministry loved their country very well, but their places better.

He said, he saw no difference, whether the King of Prussia made any declarations in the negociation at Hanau[1], or not; that they were to be pushed upon the treaty being a good one, till they proved the contrary; and that Carteret never would permit their discovering the particulars.

He said, he did not believe what Murray said relating to the treaty of Worms, for if so, why did not Mr. Pelham, when he pressed Lord Gower to come to the cabinet council, accept of Lord Gower's proposal, who offered to go and to assist against ratifying, but refused to do any more than that?—meaning, that he would join to ratify nothing else, which Pelham declined.

[1] The plan of a convention, negociated at Hanau for the pacification of Germany in 1743, appears to have failed in its effect solely through its rejection by the English ministers in the absence of the King.

He said, that he had no objection to calling for the treaty, whereby Hanover guaranteed the Pragmatic[1] Sanction; that he had never seen it, but had orders to say what he did to the States on that occasion; that the history of that affair was this; that Mr. Robinson[2], who negociated the treaty of guarantee in the name of England at Vienna, had orders not to sign, till the Hanover minister negociating the electoral interests at Vienna gave him leave; that when all the English interests were adjusted, and that treaty ready, Robinson was frightened; that he could not sign because the Hanover interests could not be agreed, for one of the electoral demands was to make the King's dominions a female fief, which, the Emperor showed, was not in his power to do without the concurrence of the empire; that this and others meeting with difficulties, Robinson got the Imperial ministers to give the Hanoverian good words, and on his side he assured him, that he was convinced they would do everything in their [power], whereupon the Hanoverian gave him leave to sign; but that the Hanover Treaty hung some time, he could not say exactly how long, afterwards; that Robinson wrote to him upon this whole affair; that in the negociation at the Hague he himself did not care to have anything to do with the Hanover interests, and that therefore he proposed to those here, that the Hanover

[1] In virtue of which Maria Theresa succeeded to the Austrian inheritance of her father, the Emperor Charles the Sixth.

[2] Ambassador at Vienna; afterwards Lord Grantham.

minister at the Hague, a stupid fellow, Sporke, who had married the Pensionary's daughter, might attend at all conferences, since otherwise he might take offence, and that might influence the Pensionary; that upon this it was so ordered from hence; but he told the Pensionary ingenuously how the thing was, who said it was right, for his *Benest de fils* would do no harm; that according to his orders he gave assurances to the States, without having seen the treaty.

He said, he could not imagine what Murray meant by approving any attempt to separate Hanover from England, since it must make his friends desperate with the King, and. if the King approved of it, with the Prince.

He said, he thought as I did, that in order to carry it, the proposal must be strongly founded in facts, &c.; but that there was another case, that of the opposition proposing it as the last step before they gave over trying any further, since every attempt was vain, wherein it might be proposed, upon the public notoriety of the Hanover interest being the principle of the ministry.

Lord Chesterfield told me, the Prince had named Dr. Askew governor to Prince George[1] with 500*l.* a-year, and had told him that he owed this great trust to my Lord Carteret, who, he said, did not know Askew, and that when Lyttelton hinted his old promise to Mr. West, the Prince ordered a pension of 100*l.* a-year for Mr. West.

[1] His late Majesty.

Octob. 17th. Wednesday.

Lord Bolingbroke said, that he had, immediately after the death of the Regent of France, dined at Hop's, the Dutch ambassador, with much company; and, among others, the Spanish minister Lawless[1]; and that one of the company having said to Lawless that the *fiançailles*[2] or espousals would be, as they had been appointed, next February, Lawless answered aloud, 'No, not 'then, nor at any other time whatever; we know 'that the Infanta is to be sent back, and are not the 'dupes of any appearances;' that upon this view, the Queen of Spain determined to make up with the Emperor, and break France's scheme, since she saw they were going to break hers; that he did not know why it was first thought to give Parma, &c., to the Queen of Spain's son; but he remembers we acted on the principle of keeping well with France, when it was clear that [it] was the Regent's interest and view to court us; and that he told Lord Stanhope so at Paris.

Octob. 21st. Sunday.

Lord Bolingbroke said, there was news come that the King of Prussia, on the approach of Prince Charles, was retiring towards the Elbe, and, it was believed, into the district of Glatz; that it was thought, owing to his

[1] Sir Patrick Lawless, an Irish Roman Catholic, who had been in the service of the Pretender, afterwards minister from Spain at Paris.

[2] Of the Infanta Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip the Fifth, betrothed to Lewis the Fifteenth. The Duke of Bourbon however, under a natural change of policy, on the Regent's death, sent her royal highness back to Spain. The French king afterwards espoused the daughter of Stanislaus, who retained the title of King of Poland.

difference with France, that letters from Schmettau[1] at the French court to the King of Prussia had been intercepted, wherein he expressed himself very angrily against Seckendorff[2] and Noailles for not destroying the Austrians at their repassing the Rhine; and he told the King that he had but three friends at the French court, Tencin, Belleisle, and Argenson[3]; and that the King of France had said, to satisfy the King of Prussia he would put himself at the head of his army, now he was recovered.

He said, that he had talked over the state we were in with the Chancellor, who had agreed, that it was inextricable; that we now paid in subsidies 250,000*l.* a-year, over and above the 500,000*l.* to the Queen of Hungary and King of Sardinia; and he did not see how we could go on, supposing the Dutch to remain as they are, which, Carteret says, is all he desires; that he knows they can do no more, though his brother ministers want 'em to do more, and the King of Sardinia to continue true to us; for if we should be able to match the King of Prussia with the Danes, Saxons, and Russians, we shall never be able to protect the King of Sardinia, and to defend Flanders too; that he had told the Chancellor, that as to their conduct on the treaty at Hanau, he thought as the Chancellor did. The Chancellor asked, what the opposition thought; Lord Bolingbroke said, the reasonable men among 'em, whom

[1] Count Schmettau, Prussian minister there.

[2] Who quitted the Austrian for the Bavarian service, and commanded the Emperor's army.

[3] Count d'Argenson, son of the Keeper of the Seals.

he talked with, thought, on the general state affairs, on the treaty of Hanau, and on what was to be done, just as they two did; that perhaps they might not speak to the Chancellor so freely as they did to him, but—here Mr. Murray came in and stopped him.

Lord Bolingbroke said, that nothing could be done in Flanders as things were; that after a resolution taken to attack the French on the Lys, the army had marched two days, and then the Dutch, and [the] Duke d'Aremberg said, the roads were so bad it was impossible to go on the other two days march; but a proof that the attack never was intended was, that although certain things had been judged proper to be done at the same time by Count Chanclos, [the] Duke d'Aremberg never sent him the orders; that the Dutch were willing we should undertake a siege, but then England must be at all the expence of it, though the Dutch and Austrians received all the contributions; that our artillery had been lying these six weeks or three months in boats, at the quays of Antwerp, at 20*l.* sterling a-day demurrage, till at last Wade had taken it upon him to order it to be landed, and put up under sheds upon the quays, to save such an expence; that the ministry here had done all they could by representations, to induce the Queen of Hungary to assist the King of Sardinia, but in vain, on account of the Naples expedition[1]. Mr.

[1] The King of Naples provoked this expedition of the Austrians, by joining the Spaniards, when they were driven up to his frontiers. It failed however. This diversion of the Austrian force enabled the French and Spaniards to invade Piedmont; but being obliged to raise the siege of Coni, they recrossed the Alps with difficulty.

Murray said, as to my anecdote relating to the Prince of Hesse's subsidy, none of it was paid when he began to take the turn he has now taken, but that an order having come down to the Treasury for 9000*l.* of it, when Mr. Alt applied for it, Mr. Pelham gave him his word he should have it; and so when the King ordered the subsidy to be stopt, Mr. Pelham desired the King to let him pay that, his honour being engaged, whereupon the King consented, and that money was paid; that the order might be some time in August last.

He said, that there being no such thing as trusting the King of Prussia after what he had done, we ought now to act vigorously against him; and that if Prince Charles came up with him and beat him, there would be an end of him. I told him, I believed that, however France differed with 'em, they would never suffer such an engine for their purposes to be crushed, and that he had great resources to prolong a war, even if he were beaten. Lord Bolingbroke added, that he would be of use to France to frighten the Dutch, who, he believed, were more afraid of him, than they were even of France.

October 22d. Monday.

Lord Chesterfield [said,] that as he had a very bad opinion of the men in the ministry, who pretended to act on the same principles with the opposition, he believed, all they meant was only to soften people, and save themselves from Pitt in the House of Commons; but that they should not gain their point, and that

they should be attacked vigorously, and should have no knowledge of the measures taken against them.

At night. M. d'Andrié said, that he had got no other papers than Prince William of Hesse's, and the dispatch of 9th September, N.S., from Berlin, wherein it is said, that Prince William desired it might not be known to come from him.

Oct. 24th. Wednesday. Lord Bolingbroke said, that the Chancellor at last came to say (when Lord Bolingbroke said, the point must be tried and supported in the closet,) that it must come to that.

He said, the whole negociation at Hanau was a banter; that all the Emperor's offers[1] were vague, and ended in nothing; and that he would not have approved of 'em, much less have drawn 'em so.

He said, he did not think the project sent over here by Lord Carteret was exactly the same with that in Prince William's paper.

Oct. 26th. Friday. M. d'Andrié said, that Lord Carteret was very uneasy at the situation of affairs; that he talked very moderately, and had assured him, that he never had spoken, as had been reported, of the King of Prussia; that though Prince William[2] had made the affair at Hanau public, he hoped all that had passed would not be so. This, d'Andrié explained to mean, the views of making up the Hanover disputes with Prussia.

[1] To send away the French troops; to give up his claim on the Austrian succession; and to join the Allies for the pacification of Germany, on the conditions that he should be recognized as emperor, and receive a subsidy from England.

[2] Of Hesse. The negociation was carried on whilst the British army was near Hanau.

He said, the King of Prussia would not discover all he knew, because he would keep measures with people here.

He said, he had proposed printing the Prussian answer to the Queen of Hungary's paper in the *London Gazette*, as the Queen of Hungary's had been; but Lord Carteret said, it could not be, as we were allies to the Queen of Hungary; but that he might publish it himself. He said, Lord Carteret was waiting for events, and had said, that Saxony was in a difficult situation; for that by treaty the Queen of Hungary had a right to the succours.

Oct. 28th. Sunday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that Mr. Murray had been with him; and that in talking over the situation of affairs, he agreed entirely, that it was impossible to go on in this way, and that to alter it, in concert among all that wished well, was necessary, but that his friends wanted genius, and were not men.

Mr. Murray told him, that Lord Harrington, [the] Lord Chancellor, and the two Pelhams, had given a remonstrance to the King against going on in the present way, and proposing to send a man of distinction to the Dutch, to demand that they should enter into the war along with us, and to declare, on their refusal, that we must withdraw within ourselves; that the King was in great wrath on receiving this; and said, that there was money enough to go on, and that Sir John Barnard said so; that the Duke of Newcastle said, he was afraid Sir John

had been misrepresented to his Majesty; but if he had said so, he had not spoke like himself; that the King was entirely wedded to Carteret, who said, the Dutch had done enough; and that when they lately declared, they would pay one-fourth of the subsidy to Saxony, it was to be accepted, for it was always something got; but that the others objected to it; that they might as well desire an ease in regard to troops as to subsidies, the old proportion being one-third of subsidies, and two-thirds of troops; that now Lord Harrington refused to go to Holland, saying, he should only be disgraced by not succeeding; that the Duke of Newcastle replied to that, that a refusal from the Dutch was succeeding, since it would justify the ministry here, who were for carrying on the war jointly in order to enter jointly into a negociation; that they were sensible Carteret defeated all they proposed; for when lately Mr. Trevor pressed for a decisive answer from the Pensionary, or else England must alter her measures, the Pensionary said, that the minister in England did not hold the same language.

Nov. 6th. Tuesday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that Mr. Pitt had been with him, and had talked to him on the present situation of affairs, and that he appeared to be less reasonable upon the legacy that had been left him[1].

Lord Bolingbroke said to him, that he saw but

[1] Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, who died in this month, bequeathed to Mr. Pitt 10,000*l.*

one way of getting ourselves out of our miserable state, and that was by taking the pathetic style, and endeavouring to soften the old party, without the opposition departing from their own principles, but acting with moderation, if a concert could not be obtained, so as to be able to take advantage of the breach in the ministry, which he thought was unavoidable. Mr. Pitt said, that the ministers, who seemed desirous to form a concert with the opposition, were weak men, and incapable of it, and in all their step insincere; and that he thought any union with them quite impossible; that they were contemptible; and he was angry with such and such of 'em, and particularly with Pelham; that he had seen Lord Cobham, and had had much treaty with the Grenvilles[1], who were obliged to follow Lord Cobham; and that he saw the opposition designed to move questions, little, if at all, inferior to high treason; that the best method possible must be used to stop 'em, and to moderate; but that they must preserve the coalition.

Lord Bolingbroke said, he was far from supposing the concert with part of the ministers probable, but that it was possible; that he saw no other means; but if any other could be proposed, he should rejoice at it; that he could not conceive, what other object

[1] Sons of the Countess Temple, sister to Viscount Cobham, whose titles she inherited. Her eldest son, afterwards the Earl Temple, then represented Buckinghamshire. Mr. George Grenville was made a Lord of the Admiralty in December, 1744. Mr. Pitt's connection, by marriage, with this noble family did not take place until 1754.

the opposition could have, than saving their country by a junction with some of the old corps, who therefore were not to be exasperated; that Mr. Pitt was a young man, and should not mingle passions with business, nor act out of anger to one or to another man; that Lord Bolingbroke might be the dupe of his confidence; but they should not be the dupes of diffidence of their own capacity and skill; that, as to preserving the coalition, neither Lord Chesterfield, nor Mr. Pitt, had formed it, but he himself; and it was done to unite all people in the interest of their country; that he could not see what object they could propose to themselves, besides what he had mentioned; and that their conduct without it must be as bad and unsystematical as last winter.

Mr. Pitt said, that they would only oppose this war, and cry out against Hanover; and that he hoped his Lordship would assist 'em to make their conduct systematical.

Lord Bolingbroke replied, that as he had friendship with the Chancellor and Mr. Murray, and a great regard for Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt, he would talk to 'em, as he thought, on the business of the day, as on a newspaper, but he would go no further; that as to their conduct, they might probably have the better of the argument; that they might beat Mr. Pelham out of the pit; but that they would lose the question, and be laughed at by the majority the next day; that, as Mr. Pitt agreed, they had no hopes of ever becoming the majority,

he did not see where we should end but in confusion, which Jacobitism would mix with, and make the pot boil with greater force.

He told me, that he had told Mr. Pitt, that when last year Mr. Pelham had got the King to order him not to oppose separating Hanover from England, but to encourage the opposition to propose it, and then agree with them, Lord Carteret had, upon the King's telling it him, never rested night nor day, till he had got the King to alter his mind; that the King had been for it, because he thought it could not take place till after his demise; and that Carteret's opposing it was probably what had gained the Prince; that Mr. Pitt upon this told him what had passed between the Prince and him in the conversation, wherein the Prince seemed to be less prepossessed in favour of Lord Carteret; and that the Prince had desired that Pitt and he might continue to live in confidence; and that if he had been uneasy at their differing in opinion, it was because one was always sooner jealous of a mistress than a wife, and that he hoped, when he came to the crown, Mr. Pitt would continue in his confidence, and serve him. Mr. Pitt said, he went down stairs with his Royal Highness without giving him a positive answer. Lord Bolingbroke said, he had told Pitt what had passed last Thursday; the Duke of Newcastle carried that day a paper sealed up to the King, and told him, it was not only the opinion of the Chancellor, Lord Harrington, himself, and his brother, who

had signed it, but of the Duke of Dorset, Grafton[1], Richmond[2], and Argyle, to whom it had been communicated; that the contents of the paper were a representation of the present situation, and that it was impossible to get out of it without sending some person of consequence to the Dutch, to propose an intimate connexion with them, so as to arm and act in conjunction, not to carry on a war at random, but to enter into a negociation with some advantage, or the appearance of some; to assure 'em, that without this concert we were unable to carry on this war at our sole expence, and must withdraw ourselves within ourselves; that the day after Mr. Pelham going to the King upon other business, the King, after some rant, and saying it was not money but good will that was wanting, fell into the opposite way, and was entirely desponding of everything.

He said, that Mr. Pitt was extremely supercilious; and that when he was a young man, Sir Edward Seymour, and Musgrave, and such, heard him with more deference than Mr. Pitt had done him. He said, that Mr. Murray had been with him, and expressed himself in the strongest manner on the inability of his friends, as men to whom one could not safely say any more, than that if they would persist in the step they had taken, they should be supported at all events. Lord Bolingbroke said, that Mr. Pitt told him, that they could only wait for some such conjuncture as would form

[1] Master of the Horse. [2] Lord Chamberlain.

a new epocha, such as the death of the King; but in the mean time go on without any object beside.

Nov. 7th. Wednesday.

Lord Chesterfield told me, that every body would be in town the first day of the session, and that it was a mistake that Cobham's people were so furious, as, I said, I had heard Mr. Pitt had represented 'em. He said, Lord Bolingbroke had to Mr. Pitt given up all hopes of any good by the Pelhams, and that Mr. Murray had done the same to Lord Bolingbroke, distinguishing the Chancellor from them as one eager to do all he could. He desired to have the papers I had from Andrié, to examine them by himself; and I gave them to him. He said, he believed no use could be made of them; I told him, he would be the best judge of that when he perused 'em.

He said, he had wrote to Dorrington[1] that there might be no cause of offence; but that the letter had been sent back to him, Mr. Dorrington being expected in town.

He said Waller[2] was so deaf, that he could not understand any body whose voice he was not used to, and did not think of attending, if he continued so.

Nov. 8th. Thursday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, he had not time to tell me all, but that now we had the thing in our hands, for that it had been told the King, that the other part of his ministers or Carteret must be dismissed; upon what

[1] Treasurer of the Chamber to the Prince of Wales.

[2] A leading member of the House of Commons in opposition to the Government.

I said, he said I received it coldly, but that he thought the matter decided, and that the Pelhams could not go back; that he could not consider it in a party light; and that if our party did not concur to support the step taken, they had neither sense nor honesty; that for his part, he would have no share in the negociation; but if our people refused to enter into it, he would never have more to say to 'em but common civility. He writ a note to Lord Chesterfield to desire to see him to-morrow morning, which Lord Chesterfield answered, and said he would. He said, that in the morning Lord Chesterfield seemed very reasonable; but he, Lord Bolingbroke, had not then known how far things had been carried; and that he believed, the Chancellor had pushed the rest, step by step, farther than they intended to go; that the Pensionary wrote from Holland, that though Lord Carteret was there in post, so that he could scarce find time to make him his visit of ceremony, yet he had found time to tell him, that the Dutch would do no more than they had done; and that Lord Carteret had said, that England would alone do all the rest; that on Tuesday last the Duke of Newcastle had carried a peremptory message to the King, that those who concurred in the representation of last Thursday could not serve him in any other plan, than what was there proposed; that Lord Carteret must either be turned out, or they permitted to withdraw, for that they could not serve with him; that he had

engaged 'em in measures, he himself must think ruinous; and when he had acquiesced in what they proposed, he had betrayed 'em; that they did not desire to distress his Majesty and leave him to meet his parliament without any administration, but desired him to decide in a week or ten days, and to try if Lord Carteret could form an administration; but that they would have no share in it; that upon this, the King had said, that 'Lord Carteret has served *me* very well,' to which the Duke replied, that he believed he had pursued measures he condemned, because he saw them agreeable to his Majesty, and he did not think that Lord Carteret was sorry at their ill success; but that it was impossible for them to serve him on the present plan.

Lord Bolingbroke said, that a message was to be sent to Lord Chesterfield by Mr. Pelham, to form a concert with the opposition, and that the only doubt could be about the manner; that he himself had said, he thought they were to proceed cautiously with the Dutch, and not seem to leave 'em at once, lest our hurry should occasion their being overrun in six months; that the Ministers here were resolved to separate us from Hanover, so as to be able to reconcile Prussia to us; that nothing but a party view in the opposition, or what Walpole[1] might do if he came to town, could defeat this; that he would

[1] The Earl of Orford, whom the King summoned to London on this conflict in the cabinet. In the mean time the crisis took place. But the journey hastened his death.

see the Chancellor on Sunday, and put matters in a way of negociation, unless our people spoiled 'em, after having no merit in bringing 'em so far; that the Duke of Newcastle and his brother were both piqued at last Saturday's *Old England* ridiculing 'em, at the very time they were doing all the opposition could desire of 'em. Upon my telling him what Lord Chesterfield said to me yesterday, he said, there was no speaking to people, for they tinged everything they related, according to their own sense.

Nov. 10th. Saturday.

Lord Bolingbroke shewed me a letter from Mr. Murray, telling him, that Mr. Pelham had not found Lord Chesterfield at White's, and so was gone out of town without seeing him, but desiring Lord Bolingbroke to engage by word of mouth Lord Chesterfield to meet Mr. Pelham at Mr. Stone's[1] to-morrow evening.

Lord Bolingbroke told my brother, and me, that he had advised Lord Chesterfield not to talk with Mr. Pelham as treating with him, but as adjusting a concert for the manner of carrying on a plan already agreed to between 'em, and to express no jealousy or aversion to the old court party, but to assure him, that the deserters were those whom the opposition abhorred.

He said, he thought Lord Chesterfield relished it, and would not create difficulties; that he had even

[1] Under Secretary of State, highly esteemed and confided in by the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham; afterwards sub-governor to Prince George.

said, that if Bath, &c. should pretend to alarm Lord Orford, to break the concert by attacking him in the Houses, he thought the opposition should receive the proposal with a loud laugh, and go out of the House; that Lord Chesterfield agreed, that soft measures were to be used with the Dutch, and that Mr. Pelham was in the wrong in thinking to push 'em to declare directly, or to bring our troops home to defend ourselves; that he had agreed with Lord Bolingbroke, that the Dutch should carry on the negociation they have begun, at the same time they put on all the appearances of vigor, and that a plan for a general peace should be secretly concerted, and by the Dutch transacted with the French. In this the pacification of Germany could not be difficult by means of some secularisations, and perhaps some parts dismembered from Hanover, which must be put out of the scale, to gain Prussia; that the difficulty would be great with regard to Spain, as the Queen would insist for something for Don Philip, and therefore this must be left to feel the parties concerned about it; and that when the marriage of the Infanta to the Dauphin was over, the Queen of Spain would be more reasonable upon that subject; that Lord Chesterfield had sent an express to Lord Gower, and expected him in town to-night; that after one fortnight he thought there was no danger of any in the opposition spoiling this, but till then it must be carried on with caution; that he believed Cobham would

say, 'Do what you will, provided you take care of 'my boys, the Grenvilles;' that when he blamed Lord Chesterfield for last Saturday's paper, revolting those whom he was labouring to conciliate, Lord Chesterfield said only, that he thought all was over; that he had told Lord Chesterfield, that Mr. Pitt was a young man of fine parts; but that he was narrow, did not know much of the world, and was a little too dogmatical; that when Lord Chesterfield mentioned the inability of the Pelhams, he told him, that he ought not to expect to treat always, nor even to wish to treat with people of equal parts to himself; the less they were so, the greater would be his advantage over 'em; and as in this case he had the superiority, he ought to be the more careful not to revolt the person he was to meet with; that Lord Chesterfield agreed, there was now no fear of the opposition being in the power of the Pelhams; but that these were evidently in the power of the opposition.

He said, he would repeat, that he had told Lord Chesterfield, he had engaged in this, because it was just, it was necessary, and it was for the good of the nation, and not of party; that if it succeeded, he should rejoice in the privacy to which circumstances and his own desire had reduced him, and that all he had to desire of Lord Chesterfield, who would by this come into power, was that he might enjoy the private life he was in, without being exposed to *avanies*.

He said, he thought he could see that the approach to place and power was very welcome, and therefore he hoped the breaking off this would be avoided.

He told us, that when the Duke of Newcastle spoke to the King, his Majesty said, he would answer for Lord Carteret's concurring in any plan they proposed; to which the Duke said, that he believed Lord Carteret would, but in order to defeat it, and they could not pretend to serve with him, nor on any other plan than what they had given, but they did not mean to distress his Majesty; and if Lord Carteret could form an administration without them, his Majesty might take a week, ten days, or a fortnight, to determine; and that then they were ready to serve him on the plan they had proposed. He said, Lord Chesterfield said, he would be glad, if this thing did not break out till the old court joined the opposition, to separate the German interests from England in the address, but he believed that to be impossible; that Lord Chesterfield thought there would be no difficulty with the opposition in concurring to carry on appearances of vigour, if a confidence was once established, as to the plan to be pursued.

Nov. 15th, Thursday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that the King had, he believed, sent for Lord Orford, to try his influence over the party, and that Pelham was alarmed lest it should revive a party spirit; that every one of the ministers had

been closeted, to persuade 'em to serve on as before, but in vain; that the King had declared, he would keep Lord Granville[1] about him, and that he had served him well, and had thrown in some things about his hatred of the people here; that the King had said, 'You will make a bad peace, as your friends 'did in 1712, and then the nation will cry out against 'you; and I will join in their cry;' but that there was nothing yet decided; that he had seen Mr. Murray last night, and the Chancellor, and after him Lord Chesterfield this morning; that Lord Chesterfield, having before told him, that when he asked Mr. Pelham, whether he would adhere not to serve with Lord Granville, Mr. Pelham answered, they could not serve so; which expression, he was so convinced, would alarm the opposition, that he would not let Mr. Pitt know it. Lord Bolingbroke asked the Chancellor, how far they could be depended on, not to serve with Lord Granville; for he should himself have been startled at what Pelham said. The Chancellor answered first, by asking if he thought him such a fool as to go on with him; and then positively assured him, they none of 'em would serve with Lord Granville; that he had told the Chancellor that, this first point agreed, the second, of concurring in promoting a national plan . . . . . would be accepted by the opposition; and he thought that the third, of acting in confidence, without forming

[1] Lord Carteret became Earl of Granville on his mother's death in the preceding month.

a list of names and of places, would not meet with difficulty.

He said, that Lord Chesterfield and he differed about one thing, that if they should not be able to drive out Granville by their own strength, Lord Chesterfield would have 'em resign, and if they did not, would trust 'em; whereas he thought this would do no good, and that the best method was to agree jointly to attack him, and drive him out, or force him without their resigning. To this I agreed; and he bade me, if occasion offered, speak it as my own sense, without knowing his opinion.

He said, the Duke of Dorset had been closeted with the Prince, but had kept the conversation at large very artfully.

He said, that Lord Chesterfield, when he met with Mr. P.[1], had done very well, excepting that he had brought in the mention of particulars, Lord Chesterfield said, only to shew P. how easy it would be to satisfy 'em, but that P. had been alarmed lest his party should be frightened at any such notion; that this morning he had talked over again to Lord Chesterfield the points which he thought were to be the principal, and insisted on his talking like one settling the detail of a concert taken, rather than as one treating for one, and that Lord Chesterfield had taken minutes in writing; that Mr. P. had told Lord Chesterfield that he

[1] Mr. Pelham.

would see him again as soon as the affair was decided, since till then nothing could be done.

At Dinner.

Lord Chesterfield and Lord Gower seemed both to expect no good from the present conjuncture. Lord Chesterfield said, he had been sanguine two days ago, but now he desponded; that Lord Orford would be in town in a day or two, and would probably reconcile 'em all; and that he was positive he should hear no more from 'em till Tuesday, when Lord Orford will have been some days in town to decide; that he thought Lord Bolingbroke had not been so sanguine this morning as he had been before; that there was some mystery in the cabinet council of Tuesday last, for it could [not] be called on papers of little consequence, as it was given out, since they sat from after eleven till after four; that it was probable Lord Granville might be made president, and then they would go on together again. Upon my objecting some things, he owned this was a ridiculous project, but he thought them capable of it, from the difficulties they would have to encounter.

He said, that the Prince, having closeted Lord Harrington to no purpose, had at last said to 'em, 'My lord, remember the King is sixty-one, and I 'am thirty-seven.'

Lord Gower said, he knew Orford's influence over Pelham to be so great, that he could not expect much good of this, since it was not decided till

he came up; that though he had no influence over the Duke of Newcastle, nor the Chancellor, yet what he had over the other, and over most of the party, was, he thought, sufficient.

Lord Chesterfield said, Winnington[1] had been closeted, and was extremely dejected, so as to be able to enter into no raillery upon the subject, when he joked with him yesterday; that Lord Limerick had said to him, that he had told Lord Bath, that nothing could be done but Lord Granville and he joining, and taking in the opposition on the broad bottom; and that Lord Bath had said, he had been too ill-used by all parties to engage with any; but that the cabinet-council being met, he would [take] that opportunity to go and speak very freely to the King.

Nov. 18th, Sunday.

Mr. Murray told, Lord Bolingbroke was mistaken in saying, that the words '*as your friends did in* 1712' in the conversation he mentioned, were made use of. He said, that Lord Orford had been informed, that his coming up would be in vain, and that he therefore would not be in town till the meeting of the parliament.

He bade me tell Lord Chesterfield, that, relying on what passed with him, the ministers had gone farther than even he, or any other could expect; but he desired Lord Chesterfield might never quote him nor use his name in it.

[1] Paymaster-general—an intimate friend of Lord Orford. He died in 1749.

He told me that Mr. Pitt had been with him, and had said that Lord Cobham could spoil it all, and therefore desired the Duke of Newcastle might go and visit him to soften him; but on recollection desired this might not be told Lord Chesterfield, lest it should create suspicion.

He said he wondered men used to decency could do what had been done, to bring themselves up to put the dagger to the throat; that Lord Granville had behaved extremely well, never having lost his temper in the whole affair; that the Duke of Newcastle had spoke to him last night of giving up entirely and going into the country; but he had dissuaded him from it, as a step without any scheme at all. On telling Lord Chesterfield what Mr. Murray desired, he seemed to be more sanguine, and said, that he found Lord Cobham and Mr. Waller[1] very well inclined; and Mr. Dodington[2] ready to concur if he was properly provided for; that Mr. Dodington had talked to him of adjusting places first; but he told him, measures must be first, and places along with them in a sufficient number. Mr. Lyttelton agreed to this, and said, that such a number was a measure. Upon my urging the danger of alarming the old party, Lord Chesterfield [said] that he would not propose touching the little finger of Mr. Hayes of the Victualling Office; but

[1] Who became Cofferer of the Household when Lord Granville went out.

[2] Who was made Treasurer of the Navy in the next month. He was afterwards Lord Melcombe.

that the deserters must make room, and that was sufficient; that he had told Mr. P. 'the victims are at the altar ready; let 'em bleed;' that he would not insist on their being moved before the meeting of the Parliament, but that if nobody was wiser than he, he would not stir one step without a positive engagement, that a sufficient number should be filled up at the recess; that else they might be deceived, which he would not be; that pledges were ridiculous; and that they must bring their party with them, who otherwise would say, this was Carteret and Bath over again. I said, that could not be, since they would continue to act on their old principles, and the court came rather over to them. He said, 'no;' many things might be proposed that would tease any ministry, and that after joining in a concert with the ministers, they could not be voting differently; that though the address might be ever so right, yet, if he continued in opposition, he would have a fling at it. There were things to be added to it, and questions to be moved; for instance, that, if it was criminal to complicate Hanover and English interests in the same negociation. I said, it would be difficult to word such a question. He said, he believed not, for he had one in his pocket drawn two months ago, in such words. I replied, that he would find it not tenable in Parliament, and urged an argument against it, which Lyttelton admitted to be just. Then I asked Lord Chesterfield, if he imagined, there would be nobody left to oppose, since

Dodington seemed to expect more than he could get; to which he said, that though he was no personal friend to Dodington, yet he would be for quieting him with some place or other, that nobody interfered with, and that he believed Mr. P. would be glad to soften a bustling fellow as he was.

Nov. 24th, Saturday.

Lord Chesterfield told me, that Lord Granville had wrote yesterday a very civil letter to Lord Harrington, acquainting him that this day he would give up the seals, and that he heard his Lordship was to have 'em; on which he gave him joy. Lord Chesterfield said, this was occasioned by what passed the beginning of the week; that on Tuesday he, Lord Chesterfield, had a message desiring the opposition to come in with Carteret, who would make room for 'em all; and that on Wednesday morning the message was sent to him, Lord Cobham, and Lord Gower, in form, from the Prince by name, but really from the highest authority of all, that they might all come in, on the broadest bottom of all. To which they answered, that they were glad of this opportunity to shew the King, the Prince, and the world, that they did not oppose for places, by refusing an offer that must gratify them in places more than could be expected by any body, but that they could not serve with Lord Granville, nor under him; that his schemes were so wild, so impracticable, and so inconsistent with the interest of England, that they could not possibly concur with him; and therefore they rejected the

offer. He said, that on Tuesday evening he had met with Mr. Pelham, and sat up till two in the morning talking over matters; that Mr. Pelham had pressed him to name individuals, but he answered, that he could not; that however Mr. Pelham might have a guess whereabouts the number would be. He insisted, that his new allies should all be sacrificed; that they were the most perfidious, the most insufficient, and the most contemptible of men; that they were a disgrace to him, and would be a dishonour to the opposition, if it was grafted on them. He added, that he did not mean to hurt one man of the old party, for he meant to consolidate the two together. To this Mr. Pelham replied, that since it was insisted upon, to be sure the new men must give way. Hereupon Lord Chesterfield said, that the thing being now done, as he thought it could not miss, it was time to ask how people thought as to themselves. I told him, I believed he would find that matter easy. He said, people were apt to think, too much could not be done for oneself; but now it must be asked what they think; 'and give me leave 'to ask you the question bluntly, What have you 'thought of for yourself?' I told him, that I had never thought of anything in particular; that my situation was such, I could not be of any use in Parliament[1]; and that those who could serve there

[1] Lord Marchmont was obliged to vacate his seat in the House of Commons on his father's death, and had not since then been elected one of the Scots representative peers.

should first be gained. On his saying, I must speak freely to him, I bade him ask Lord Bolingbroke whether, in all our talk, I had ever spoke as having an eye to any particular thing.

He said, my situation might remain particular for three years, but in the mean time my talents should not lie useless; what would I think of a foreign commission? I told him, my father had undone himself in such, and had been kept abroad till all his friends were dead; that therefore as a gratification to me it was none, and that by way of serving my country and myself, I could not think of one, under such a secretary as either the two we had, but that if he, Lord Chesterfield, was secretary, who could distinguish one man's merit from another, and with whom I desired to cultivate a connexion, any commission wherein he required a man of confidence, and that was not to keep me abroad a great many years, I would not refuse. Upon his saying that no gentleman could save himself in such a commission, I told him, that I could not undertake one, if I had not something beside my own estate to trust to, if the Treasury did not pay; that this I had seen the effects of, and in that view had thought whereby I could be enabled to support it, and that it naturally must be by some Scots place, where I should have the fewer rivals, though I would never meddle in Scots business; and that in this view I could find no place that would be so agreeable to me as that of Justice-General, which the Duke of Argyle now

held, and which was for life; and I owned, that therefore I liked it, as I might thereby continue to act like a man of honour without being reduced to beggary for it.

He said, as to himself he had chosen Ireland for a reason I would laugh at, which the Duke of Shrewsbury gave him; that it was a place wherein a man had business enough to hinder him from falling asleep, and not so much as to keep him awake; that besides he wanted to have it in his power to do for little people who were attached to him, and had suffered for him; that it gave him an entry into the closet, either frequently or once in six weeks, as he found it convenient; that it was a cabinet place; and he believed, from his having rejected at once Carteret's proposal, he had established a confidence with the old ministers, and they were not so able but they would be glad of his help, so that he thought he should [have] *voix au chapitre;* that he could not now have had the seals without risking all for 'em; and that he must have come into the closet through thorns and briers, with his face all scratched; whereas he chose to strew the way with roses, and that he would not be a loser by his place, if he was to come out of it after March next come twelvemonth, nor even then above 2000*l.* loser; that I might believe, I was one of the first whom he had thought of on this occasion. I told him, I hoped so; and that my only view was to cultivate a connexion here with him, and that in that

view I desired leave to recommend a man to him whom I could answer for, Mr. Grevenkop[1], who was in the same house with me.

Nov. 25th, Sunday.

Lord Bolingbroke having wrote to me to know what had passed concerning myself, I told him what Lord Chesterfield had said to me, and my answer. He said, he thought my answer was a very right one, and a very handsome one. I told him, that the town talked of me to be Scots secretary, but that I would not take it without acting in concert with all the principal people of that country, for I would not pretend to be undertaker for the elections there. He said, he would talk about it when he went to town; that it being a cabinet office he was for my having it; that he could wish I went abroad else, not to stay, but where something important was to be done. If there was a peace to be made, he thought me the fittest, nobody having the thread of treaties since that of Munster so ready as I; that he thought I should go to Holland, where we should have a man of capacity. I told him, that as to this last Lord Chesterfield was the only man, and that he certainly would be sent, and that in general, though I had reason to be diffident in every thing, there was nothing wherein I felt myself so incapable as foreign negociations, having none of the talents that were

[1] A Danish gentleman, who was page of honour to Alexander Earl of Marchmont, when ambassador at Copenhagen, and who attached himself to his family.

requisite. He treated this lightly, and said he would talk of this matter in town.

Dec. 25th, Tuesday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me that Lord Chesterfield had been with him this morning, and had talked to him of our situation as to foreign affairs; that he wanted to talk to me about 'em, for that we must endeavour to get this country out of the scrape she was in, and that he must therefore talk the northern affairs over with me in the evening fully, that I might determine what I would do, and whether I was of the opinion as Chesterfield and he were; that I should consider the thing well, and not give him an answer directly.

1744. Dec. 29th, Saturday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that he had wanted to talk over the northern affairs with me, when we could get a quarter of an hour to ourselves; that he would do it now; that first he would mention the general proposition, and then consider it as it concerned me in particular; that he had long thought, and, after turning it in his thoughts, still thought, that we could get out of our present condition abroad only by cutting the Gordian knot, and not by trying to untie it; that he had given this as his opinion to the Chancellor, when he spoke to him concerning what they heard from Russia, by which power he thought the thing was to be done; that a proposal had been made from thence, that the Czarina would furnish the 10,000 men she was obliged to by treaty to the Queen of Hungary, and the 12,000 to us, and

would add 40,000 more upon payment of a subsidy of 400,000*l.*, a very great one indeed, but for it she would enter the Prussian dominions, with this army of 62,000 men, by which means Prussia would be taken out of the French scale, and kept in check. He said, he had thought this to have been the project of a treaty sent hither, but that it was not gone so far, for it was only a plan proposed by Bestuchef[1] to our ambassador in Russia, and which he did not believe Bestuchef had spoke of as yet to the Empress, though it was so represented here; that if our ministers approved of it, Bestuchef thought he could bring the Empress into it; that he had said to the Chancellor, that he was for approving it, to put an end to the war, though the subsidy was great, provided the Dutch came in to bear a part of it, and that the subsidies proposed for the Circles in Germany might be applied to this use, if it was properly opened to the courts in Germany. He added, 'now I come to your part in this, and I de-
'sire you will hear me out before you say anything;
'I mentioned this affair,' says he, 'as I stated it
'to you, to Chesterfield, when he was here, and he
'said he thought it right, adding, "Would March-
'mont undertake it?" To which I made one obser-
'vation, that I told him, that hitherto they had
'only begun their work at home, and that till they
'had established it, I did not think you would care
'to engage in any thing of this kind, and another

[1] Prime Minister in Russia.

'which I did not tell him, that unless we had abler 'men for secretaries, I did not see much hopes in 'any such affair. I told him that this matter was 'not ripe yet, and that the foundation of it ought 'to be laid in Holland, and he agreed to it. I must 'tell you, too,' says Lord Bolingbroke, 'that they 'do not think it will be necessary to go further 'than Dresden for this affair, and I had almost for-'got that the other day Winchilsea rattling on in 'his way, after saying that there would be a new 'scene in four months, said the ministry are not 'capable of going through the difficulties they will 'meet with, and your friend will find the northern 'affairs very troublesome. There is a court there 'will give him enough to do, that of Prussia. On 'my asking him what friend of mine? he said, Why 'Marchmont, he is a-going there.' I put it off,' says Lord Bolingbroke, 'with a joke; but by this 'you see they must have spoke with the King of it, 'and of your going; for it is from him Winchilsea 'must have learned it; *Dixi.*' Upon this I told my Lord, I should have taken time to answer him, had I not foreseen, from what he dropped in town, that he was to propose a foreign commission to me, and upon that consulted my brother; that it was impossible for me to undertake any such, if I had nothing to trust to besides my own estate, in the case the treaty did not pay me, for I would not ruin myself and family to come home here forgotten, to walk about soliciting a Scots pension; and that in

the next place, though I should make a very different answer to a proposal coming from the old part of the ministry, and one from the new part, who had treated me with so little regard, that I should ask 'em nothing; yet in all cases I would dishonour myself, for that we Scots had not only opposed on the general principle, but on one particular to our own country; and that if a coalition of all of both sides was not established there, I could do no act whereby I should appear to approve of their conduct; that upon the whole I could not forfeit the character I had the good fortune to have obtained, but would be the more careful of it, the more I was sensible it was undeserved, and therefore beyond my power to retrieve, if I once lost it. He said, he believed they had not yet thought of Scotland, and that it was not meant I should engage in this affair so as to injure myself, and that the thing was not ripe yet. Afterwards he called me aside, and told me, that he hoped I did not imagine him capable of acting in concert with any body to draw me into an imprudent step; I told him, I flattered myself that he was not.

1744. Dec. 31st, Monday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that the Czarina's proposal had been made to the Dutch, and that the Pensionary had made a very proper answer, which was, that they must first get out of their defensive war before they thought of making an offensive war; and that they did not want an army of 62,000 men, but of 30,000

or 40,000, enough to make a diversion. He said, that Prussia had proposed to Lord Harrington to depart from the alliance of Frankfort[1], and make peace in Germany, if he might again have the terms of the treaty of Breslau[2], and the Emperor[3] be restored to his own hereditary dominions; that Chesterfield seemed in doubt whether to accept of this, or the Czarina's offer, but that he himself had given his opinion for listening to both. He said, that Chesterfield[4] had not yet been able to get the letters and papers lately sent from Holland, which he wanted to read, to know how things had been conducted there. He said, that Harrington prevented Pitt's being Secretary of War, because of my Lady Young[5].

[1] This Treaty is called the Union of Frankfort; it was between the Emperor Charles the Seventh, the King of Prussia, the Elector Palatine, the King of Sweden as Landgrave of Hesse, and was concluded on the 22d May, 1744. France acceded to it on the 6th of the next month on the invitation of those powers.

[2] England guaranteed the treaty of Breslau on the 24th June, 1742.

[3] The Emperor died after a few hours illness, on the 20th of the month following.

[4] Lord Chesterfield set off on his embassy to the Hague on the 12th of the month following.

[5] Sir William Yonge was then Secretary at War.

DIARY RESUMED.

LORD STAIR sent for me; when I went to him I found the Duke of Montrose[1] with him, and that they had been engaged in talk together on the subject with which Lord Stair continued; that last night an account from Edinburgh had alarmed the whole council; that the Pretender's son was near Edinburgh, and probably would soon be master of it; and that this day the ministry were to meet to consider what to advise; that he understood that [the] Duke of Bedford[2] and Lord Halifax were to offer to raise regiments for the King's service; and that he thought fit to let us know it; that Lords of our country might, if they approved of it, do the same. The Duke of Montrose said, that he had not been considered in his country, or else he might have been of some use, and that he would do his utmost as Duke of Montrose, but he could not carry a musket, though he could a fusil, in England. I said, that we had been all pretty equally treated, but that I supposed Lord

1745. Sept. 20th, Friday.

[1] William Duke of Montrose, who succeeded to the title on his father's death in 1741.

[2] First Lord of the Admiralty.

Stair asked our opinions what we judged proper to do, *rebus sic stantibus*, and that I would do anything they two thought fit; that I desired only not to incur the ridicule of pretending to do anything, that the Duke of Bedford performed by dint of riches, but that in zeal for liberty I would vie with him, or any of 'em all in England; and that I desired to avoid being laughed at justly for an offer to raise and be paid for the militia under the name of a regiment. The Duke said, he thought the offer would be ridiculous, because his country was now possessed by the rebels, and therefore he could do nothing in it, and that the ministers would reject what part of our proposal they thought fit, and load us with the rest of it, merely to undo us. To this Lord Stair replied; and the dispute growing warm, I told Lord Stair, that as no offer had yet been made, we could not tell whether we could concur or not. But as he would first know it, I desired he would do me the honour to accept of full power from me to offer to raise a regiment, or do any other service he found would not appear ridiculous; and that if he thought it fit, I would go to court to be ready to make the offer personally if necessary. He thought I should go thither: I went with the Duke of Montrose. Lord Stair coming out from the King told me, that finding the King had refused the Duke of Bedford's offer, telling him the storm would soon blow over, but that he

thanked him for his zeal, he had delayed making my offer till a more proper opportunity. I told him, if it could be of no use, it need not be made. He said, he had desired the King, since he knew nothing of his army, to name somebody that his ministers trusted, and that the King answered, 'You know as much as I do.' I told the Duke of Montrose, that the affair of the offer was over, and I supposed would not be accepted hereafter, so that the dangers he foresaw were vanished.

Afternoon. I went to Lord Stair to ask him whether it was worth while to communicate to Lord Tweeddale a letter I received this post, with news of proclaiming the Pretender at Duns[1], and the acting justices refusing to assist Mr. Carre to apprehend the offenders; and finding Lord Tweeddale there at dinner (a connexion being a forming between 'em), I read the letters to 'em both, and stated the case to 'em, to which neither of 'em made one word of answer. I was piqued at this in Lord Tweeddale, who this very morning, at Lord Stair's, asked me whether I had sent my arms to Berwick, and said, I did right in it, and on the 2d inst. at court, when I told him I had a number of arms at the King's service, superciliously intimated that my house might be searched for 'em; so I told him, that in case the same fellows, encouraged by their impunity at Duns, should commit the same insult at

[1] In Berwickshire.

Greenlaw[1], and this should be represented here so as to affect my friends or property, and so as to oblige me to relate the thing as it was, and to charge all that ensued on the impunity at Duns, I expected from him to be cleared from any imputation of doing what I should do out of private malice to any man. Upon this he warmed, and said he did not see how Mr. Hay of Drummelier could hinder what had passed at Duns any more than he himself could at Gifford-hall. I told him, I thought I had spoke plain English, and so repeated what I had said. We went into the other room, where Lord Stair told me, the council had met since he saw me at court, and hearing what the Duke of Bedford had offered, were all of opinion, that the King should be advised to accept it, and that many others, such as [the] Duke of Rutland, [the] Duke of Montague, and [the Duke of] Kingston, and Lord Halifax being named, he had said, that several Lords of Scotland were ready to do the same, but that he hoped every Lord Lieutenant would not be made a colonel. Lord Tweeddale came in and told us the Highlanders had taken Edinburgh.

Sept. 21st. Saturday.

Lord Bolingbroke, on hearing what passed yesterday, said, he laid a great stress on the Duke of Bedford's being refused, and that the court surely resolved not to suffer such as we to have any military power; and

[1] The Earl of Marchmont was Lord Polwarth of Polwarth, Redbraes, and Greenlaw.

on what had passed concerning the affair of Duns, he advised me to remain quiet and proceed no farther.

Sept. 22d. Sunday. My brother, being come to town, was of opinion, that I ought not to persist to go down to raise a regiment, after what had passed, without sufficient authority from the King, to protect his commission from insult, and myself from being betrayed here, by rendering all my endeavours ineffectual, and then exposing one for not succeeding.

Sept. 23d. Monday. I told Lord Stair, that without more authority than a commission to raise a regiment, my friends thought it would be ridiculous after what had happened to attempt to raise one, and that, with more authority, I saw no reason to ask the King to pay for what might be done merely by his authority. He said, that Cope's army must beat the rebels, and then there would be no use of regiments; but if that should not happen, then it would be impossible to raise troops.

Sept. 24th. Tuesday. I told Lord Bolingbroke, that the Duke of Bedford had just told me, our army was totally defeated[1]; that we had but one battle more, wherein every man must do his best. He said, he thought this was the time, when people should endeavour to keep themselves

[1] At Preston Pans, on the 21st September, 1745.

cool, and that unless there was a third party for the constitution, there was none worth fighting for. I told him, I was afraid of spinning the thread too fine, lest it should break, when so much depended upon it.

Sept. 25th. Wednesday.

Mr. Maul, the Duke of Argyle's Secretary, affected much familiarity with me, and on my saying that our country was sacrificed, he said aloud, that, by ——! he could account for it only by supposing it to be treachery.

Sept. 26th. Thursday.

The Duke of Newcastle took me aside, and told me, Mr. Vane and others had wrote up to desire, that the dragoons and regiment from Berwick might be sent to Newcastle; and he asked my opinion about it. I told him, that the town's-people would do as much as they could at Berwick; but that the smallness of the garrison left might tempt the rebels to attack it, and that all the gentry of the south of Scotland were fled into it. On this he went away to the King, and being returned, said he had represented what I had said to the King, and they would do their best, but wanted my opinion. I told him, I thought weakening Berwick for the sake of a single battalion drawn back to Newcastle would give a blow to the King's affairs in the north, whereas parties of dragoons from Berwick might starve the Highlanders in their road through Northumberland. He then asked me, whether the county of Berwick was in England or Scotland, and how Berwick was dis-

tinguished from the county. I told him, my brother served for the county as a Scots county, and I had served for the town as an English town, as I could not serve for any place in Scotland. He said, that was decisive, and so left me.

Sept. 27th. Friday.

I told Lord Bolingbroke, that we in Scotland were lost, in a dispute who should be Viceroy, but that I thought we ought to try every thing to save ourselves, and therefore was going to the Duke of Montrose, to see if he would offer to do whatever service we could; and that I desired him to tell any of the English ministers he saw, to consider whether we could be of any use. I went to the Duke of Montrose, and proposed to him to ask the ministers, whether they, who knew the King's affairs, thought we could be of any use, because we were ready. On his agreeing to it, I proposed telling Lord Stair of it; and his Grace bade me speak; so we went together to him, and I told him what we had thought of. He said it was extremely right, and would have a very good effect. I said, we feared it might be treated as officious or meddling; he said, that it must be well received; I told him, if it was so, we thought of sending an express for the Duke of Queensberry, and assembling others, so as to act all in conjunction to defend our liberty; he said, he found but one man in England, and that was Lord Thanet, who thought that the King should make a declaration to satisfy his people, that he meant to defend and secure our

free constitution; and then every man would rise in arms for him. At last he agreed, together with us, to call Lord Tweeddale into a separate room at court, and ask him, if we or any Scots peers could be of any service at court, observing, that the affairs of Scotland were considered lightly, and that it was reckoned sure that the troops now a-marching would quiet every thing, as soon as the King was gone in. I told Lord Stair, that as he could judge the *air du bureau* better than I could pretend, I desired to know, whether he thought we ought to speak to Lord Tweeddale, as had been agreed; he answered with indifference, he thought it could do no hurt. On this I beckoned up the Duke of Montrose, and asked Lord Stair, if he thought we should then take Lord Tweeddale aside; he repeated the same answer, and turned to speak to some other body; on which the Duke pulled me by the sleeve, and, going into a window, said, that we saw what was likely to happen to our offer, so that we had best postpone it. I told him, that my only concern was, that our country was in a condition that made every hour precious, and we might be able to do nothing if we delayed; he said, that he and I could witness for each other; that we had done our best; and if we did sink, we should at least do it with a clear conscience.

When I came from court, Lord Gower[1] came in, to whom I told, that the Duke of Montrose and I

[1] Privy Seal.

had been to offer our services; he said, he was glad we had done it, on which I told him what had passed. He said, that the ministers could not tell what to depend on concerning Scotland, one side constantly contradicting the other. I told [him] that I myself out of Parliament, and all I could influence in Parliament, should loudly complain, that Scotland was thrown out of the King's protection. He said, he did not see that; I answered, that Scotland was undone in the dispute between two men, who should [be] viceroy of it, and the English ministry considered only which of these two men should be absolute lords of the kingdom, and thus the King had lost his crown, which he seemed not to value; that all this might have been prevented last winter, if, instead of holding up the Duke of Argyle to be king, and insisting on all of us bowing to him, they had obliged his Grace to shake hands with the rest of the nobility, and be content with his share; that when Lord Stair had at that time spoke to me of the secretary's place, I had told him, that I would not accept it if offered in opposition to the Duke of Argyle, or without a concert with him, and that he, Lord Gower, knew, we had told him, that we wanted no better than to act in concert with any man for the relief and service of our country; but we had been despised, and not even Sir John D—— could get 500*l.* a-year without bowing to the Duke of Argyle; that then the Duke was brought to do nothing, unless he could do every

thing, and Lord Tweeddale thought he had credit enough in the closet to suffer nobody to have power but himself, and, therefore, from resentment to the Duke of Argyle, and to all of us who had not cringed to him, he had neglected the common and necessary precautions to defend the kingdom, as they could not have been taken without giving power to some of us, and he had gone about giving his opinion, that the regulars would beat the irregulars, which were always contemptible; thus, supporting an opinion of Lord Granville's perhaps, or, to serve his own purpose, he had lost the King one of his crowns; that one saw how high the dispute was carried between him and the Duke of Argyle, by Mr. Maul's carriage at court, and that the ministers seemed to attend to nothing else; that they were both to blame; but, that things being so, we ought however to do our best to save the constitution. He said, that was the great point; that he felt the situation of those who acted as ministers without the King's confidence; that they laboured on though every thing was up-hill work, of which he gave some instances; that if they treated this affair as important, Lord Stair laughed at them, and Lord Tweeddale gave no help at all; that he wished they could do any good, and that animosities ought to be laid aside. I told him, I did it so far, that if I had had as much enmity to Lord —— as he had to me, I would shake hands with him now for fighting in this cause, but that I would fight only for liberty,

and not fight that one might put on the yoke instead of another. He said, we ought in the first place to remove the present danger. I told him, I could submit as well as another, if tyranny was to be established, by whomever conquered; but a slave with whole bones was not so absurd, as one who had got his bones broke to establish his own slavery; but when the worst happened, I could go to Holland like my grandfather; that at court we were treated as little better than slaves now; but, to bring the thing to an issue, I desired him, as one of the ministers, to let the question be asked by the ministry at Lord Tweeddale, and by any of 'em that saw the Duke of Argyle at him, since they were the two believed in Scots affairs, whether any thing could be done by the Scots nobility for saving the country, and for the King's service, and that we were ready to do whatever was practicable; that then I would send for the Duke of Queensberry, and we would act in concert; and that, for my own part, I was to ready to go any where, provided I should not be deserted, and defeated here above, in order to be laughed at for attempting what it might be made impossible to execute; and that I should be assured, that the two heads of the Scots faction should not be, one or other of 'em, made tyrant over us, but would join with the rest to put Scotland on the same foot with England. He said, he did not see how that could be secured; I desired him to try, whether any thing could be done or not. He told

me in the conversation, that the Duke of Argyle stood ill in the King's opinion, and Lord Tweeddale very well.

Sept. 28th. Saturday.

I told the Duke of Montrose what I had told Lord Gower in general, and asked him whether he did not think it proper for his Grace to ask Lord Tweeddale, whether or not we could be of any service to the King; that I would do it with all my heart; but that his Lordship never spoke with patience to me; and I believed, as he talked more quietly with him, he would give his Grace time to tell his Lordship, that his Grace and I had talked together on the state of our country; and we were ready to do any thing we could for the King's service. The Duke said, as it was making no particular offer, he would tell Lord Tweeddale, that if we could be of any use we were ready. Lord Haddington, &c. coming in, I desired the Duke to call him into the room where we were, which we did, and we told him in general what we were talking of.

The Duke of Montrose, on his return from court, related to me a long conversation he had had with the Marquis of Tweeddale, which began by his Grace telling him that he and I had been considering the state of our country, and that we, and he believed many others, were ready to do all the service we could, and therefore he asked his Lordship, whether or not we could be of any use; and if not, he hoped he would inform the ministry of our

zeal, and that it would not appear impertinent. The Marquis answered, that he did not see any use we could be of, unless it were to go down with Mr. Wade[1], or we had something to offer, and that our or his Grace's zeal was very well known. The Duke said, that we could pretend to offer nothing, not being acquainted with the King's affairs or designs, but were ready to do any thing that was thought advisable for the King's service; and then the conversation turned into other political discourse about Scotland, wherein the Marquis said, he wished this whole affair might be inquired into.

In the afternoon.

Having sent to know when I could wait on the Duke of Queensberry, he came, and told me, he was just come up post, having, before the news of the battle, thought this affair to be of little consequence, the more, that his people having at the first wrote up to him their desire to arm, and he having bid them advise with the crown lawyers, (they had wrote to him that the crown lawyers, whom he understood to be the Justice Clerk, the Advocate, and Solicitor, were of opinion they ought not to arm, nor could, without a lieutenant with the King's authority, but that even it was more prudent not to arm;) that since he came to town, he had seen only the Prince and Lord Stair; that this last had treated it lightly; that the Prince had told him, he had made another effort for leave

[1] Field-marshal. He left London to take the command of the army forming in the North of England, on the 6th of October, 1745.

to go with the army, and had got no answer yet; that he desired the Duke to go with him, but that, in the midst of all, he let drop, that this interrupted our schemes in Germany on the continent; on which the Duke expressed his concern to see him thinking of that in the present conjuncture; and the Prince said, he had been already told of that, and fell into further discourse. I told his Grace all that had passed with regard to us as Scots peers, and that he had eased me of a great deal of pain, whether to send for him or not; that now he was here, I was willing to do any thing he thought fit. He said, he thought we should speak to some of the English ministers, since Tweeddale had made such an answer. I told him, I would speak, or write a letter, or do any thing that was thought fit; that the Duke of Montrose was afraid of forcing ourselves upon the ministry by doing any more, having told me this morning that now we had done all we could, unless we intended to force ourselves upon 'em; but that I believed, this proceeded only from his Grace's thinking that the ministers would use the opportunity to draw us into some ruinous measure, especially as his Grace's country lay nearest the Highlands; but that before any other step I would advise him, if he thought fit, to speak to Lord Tweeddale, just as the Duke of Montrose had done, that we might all stand on the same ground and rank; and if he got the same answer, as I supposed he would, unless Lord Granville had shewed the Marquis, that he

was baking a fine pie for himself. We should then concert together what we ought farther to do, and that I would agree to any thing he thought proper. He said, he would see Lord Tweeddale to-morrow, and let me know what passed, but asked if I thought any thing could be done. I told him, he knew what could be done in his country, or if there was any post, where people rising could hold themselves till all were armed; but that I thought if at the same time the Highlands were armed, the same was done in Fife, in the west about the Duke of Montrose's, Glasgow, Air, and so on, and in the south east under the cannon of Berwick, that the rebels would not know which part to go to first, and thereby the whole force of the country might be raised, and armed against them; but this was only a rude notion of my own, that required further discussion; and that to make it a proposal in the condition our affairs were, might be to engage those that hate us to defeat it, notwithstanding the consequences of such conduct.

Sept. 29th. Sunday. The Duke of Queensberry told me, that he had seen the Marquis of Tweeddale, who, with many shrugs and hints, had told him, that he did not see that any thing could be done by us in Scotland; that now the thing must be decided by the King's army, and that commissions of lieutenancy would be too late. I said the answer given expressed a great deal of dignity to us. The Duke said that, to give him due, he has

expressed that our zeal was very laudable, and very well known. The Duke of Montrose said, that now we were vindicated, and unless, to use a Scots expression, we should *dud ourselves in their faces*, we saw we could do nothing; that indeed in that case they might put us upon some bad affair to do us an injury. I asked the Duke of Queensberry, if he thought it now necessary to say as much to any of the English ministry; but both the Dukes thought we had done all that was decent for us, or necessary to shew our readiness, if we were thought to be of any use.

Sept. 30th. Monday.

The Duke of Queensberry came, pursuant to his answer to my message last night. I told him, I wanted to lay before him some thoughts of my own relating to our country; that, distrusting myself, I had wrote em to my brother also, and expected every minute his answer, and that no time being to be lost, I hoped, he would excuse my troubling him in case he found what I had thought of impracticable; that considering what a blow would be given to our country, should the opinion of the general dissaffection there prevail, though it be groundless, and that our friends were left there like part of the cargo to be trampled upon and crushed by those, who made the active crew. I would ask his Grace, whether our so immediately acquiescing in Lord Tweeddale's opinion, that nothing was to be done, might not be taken rather as an excuse, than as a mark of our

zeal, as he might say that, for several particular reasons; that indeed the Duke of Montrose thought he could not go with safety into his country, but I did not know whether his Grace was in the same case; and, as to myself, I should be as safe in Berwick as any other body; and that if people armed in Northumberland, they might do the same in the Merse, which was divided from it only by the Tweed; that, on the other side, we were liable, no doubt, to be laughed at, should we fail in executing any offer, after Lord Tweeddale had said nothing was to be done, and were liable to be, as the Duke of Montrose said, drove into some bad step on purpose; but that I foresaw none, beside being put to more expence than I could bear, and that I would venture the laugh, to try whether any body would arm or not; but that I would be glad of his opinion, and would concur with him in any thing. He said, he did not see what use could be made of any thing we did; that he heard the magistrates in his country had run away, which could not fail of striking a panic into the people, and that the Highlanders would be in possession now of the whole country; that he was thirty miles from Carlisle, and that he could not say whether he should be able to do any thing or not, and then we should be ridiculous. I answered, that I saw no other risk we ran, and that was not great, neither could we incur it, if we had the interest I supposed in our own country; that, for my own part, I would run that

risk, merely to try whether I had any interest in the country or not; for, if I had none, and was as much contemned there, as I was affected to be here, I saw no reason why I should refuse to submit to any Viceroy set over us, as much as any of my own tenants, having no better right then to be considered in the distribution of Scots power; and that, from this want of interest only, I thought we could fail, unless Scotland was really Jacobite, and that then I should be sorry to speak for them; but peaceful slavery being the best kind of it, I thought they deserved to be kept quiet by force, and I should submit to an army, which, I feared, was the view of our ministry. He asked, what I would propose to do? I told him, what I had thought of was, that as, no doubt, it was too late for lords lieutenants to do much, we should offer to go down, where we might be safe, as his Grace to Carlisle, and I to Berwick, with the King's commission to raise regiments, and leave to make 'em of two battalions, if the number came to us; that I thought this best, as men might come from parts of several different counties, over which one lord lieutenant could not have power, but that I would also desire a commission of lieutenancy, to be used only in case we found it could be of service, such as to call out gentry, &c., to whom the other commission might not extend, and that for the commission to raise a regiment, I thought of it, because now the counties could not pay the men as militia, and therefore they might starve without

the King's pay. He said, that no doubt the Highlanders were now all over the country, and he did not see the use these men would be of; that Cavers was come up, and he wanted to see him, and that he feared for the castle of Edinburgh, which once taken the rebels would be in a better state to carry on a long war against England, than ever Scotland had been, and that he supposed they would invade England. I told him, if so, then we should be at liberty behind their backs, and that as to use our people would be as much so, as the Duke of Bedford's could be; and that I believed, the Highlanders could hinder the militia from assembling, but not be able to prevent one body of twenty men, &c. from coming to take arms at a safe rendezvous, and that I must think them as incapable of good conduct as our own ministers to suppose they would disperse their people about so as to grow loose, to plunder, and desert when they saw such a war rolling down upon 'em from England; that the country was too wide to be kept by such force as they had, being all against 'em and people rising in every quarter; that if they took the castle and maintained a long war, our people would then be of use no doubt; and if we delayed arming them, we should still come later, or must lie here idle, while others were fighting for our liberties and our friends; that indeed we might tempt 'em to send and revenge themselves by burning our houses; and if they resembled our ministers I might

suspect 'em of it: but that on the whole I would be glad of his opinion. I then read him the letter just come in from my brother. His Grace said, that as he stood with the Prince, he must acquaint him with this, though his Royal Highness had no reason to expect leave to go down. I told him, I thought he should when he had resolved what to do, for he could not expect arguments to dissuade him from the Prince. He bade me tell him what Lord Stair should say to me.

I told the Duke of Montrose what I had thought of. He said, that he could not go with safety into his country, unless the Duke of Argyle was to join to bring down his men too, and then they might gather a strength into the shire of Air. He said he would propose nothing unless the ministry here would all unite, put things on a right footing, and act in concert. I told him, that was what we should never see at any time I believed, but had no reason to hope for now; that I would hear what Lord Stair said, and inform him of it. The Duke of Montrose said, he thought, they ought to send me down with all the credit and weight they could give me, and then perhaps it might have a much greater effect than anybody could imagine.

Lord Stair called me into his inner room, and told me, that if five or six considerable men would join with Lord Thanet to desire the King to declare that he meant to support our liberties and a free parliament, by —— the thing would be over in four

days. He said, Lord Gower should mention it to the Duke of Bedford, and that the Duke of Marlborough was very right now, but Mr. Spencer should be sent for to keep him so. I said, the Duke then ought to write for him, for he was at Bath for his health, and it was a pity to bring him away for nothing.

I asked him, if he thought anything could be done in Scotland? he said to be sure not, for the Highlanders were masters of the country. I told him that since he was also of that opinion, no more could be done; but that had it not been so, I had thought of offering, notwithstanding our answer from Lord Tweeddale, to go down to Berwick, and try whether I could not raise a body of men for the King's service. He said, the rebels were coming into England; on which I said, then we might arm behind them. He said, the offer might be made, and I should be thanked for my zeal. I told him, I did not want, far less seek that; but since he was of that opinion, whom did he think I should offer it to? He said 'To the Scots minister, to be sure.' I said, he had given us his answer, and then he said, 'Why, you know the man,' and so went out of the room. On my way to the Duke of Queensberry's I met a letter from him, telling me he was called to the Prince, and that by talk with Cavers, he found it would be impracticable to execute the project I had mentioned, and that he was so convinced of it that he would not make the offer.

Oct. 6th, Sunday.

Lord Stair took the Duke of Montrose and me into the window at Kensington, having before told us he wanted to talk to us. He said, that the offer we had made, and to which Lord Tweeddale could give us no answer, had been laid before the council; that it had been there said, that several Lords of Scotland had offered to do any service they could, and that although nothing could be done so long as the rebels remained masters of the country, yet should they march into England, Peers of Scotland authorized by the King might then raise regiments behind them, and cut off all communication between them and Scotland; that this had been thought very right, and that it was thought likewise that such, as could do this, should be spoke to, that they might think of what people they would employ under them, and keep themselves ready when the case happened. I told Lord Stair, that as the King's troops would decide the affair now, this looked to me like sending us a thief-catching, and that after what had passed, the taking this up, as was done, looks very like what the Duke of Montrose had suspected, drawing us into a scrape, that is, to send us away on the meeting of the Parliament, that nobody might be here whilst they fixed slavery on our country; and therefore I desired to know in the first place, what the ministers intended to do as to Scotland, and how the King's speech

and the addresses would speak of Scotland. Lord Stair said, he knew nothing as to this last, but that the other had been approved of in the council. The Duke of Newcastle came up, spoke to Lord Stair of the King of Sardinia's defeat[1], and then asked Lord Stair, that the dragoons might be decimated, who said, this must be over first. I then shewed the Duke of Newcastle Mr. Carre's pass from Berwick, &c. Coming home with Lord Stair, he told the Duke of Montrose and me, that he had spoke to the Duke of Newcastle about what he had told us, of raising regiments, &c., and that the Duke said, it was very right, that the Peers to do it should be prepared to go down; then he named the Duke of Buccleugh, who I told him was near town, so that he might send for him. He said, either he or his son should raise a regiment; the Duke of Montrose said that we ought first to have a meeting.

Lord Stair said, that all the letters from the Advocate were wrote like a man of sense, of courage, and one versed in state business. The Duke of Montrose mentioned the Duke of Argyle's saying, he had wrote to the Regency[2] and had got no answer. Lord Stair said, that was not true; he said too, that the King was greatly exasperated against Cope. He said, orders were gone to intercept Mr. Hay of

[1] Count Gage passed the Tanaro on the 16th September, 1745, defeated the King of Sardinia, and drove his army under the walls of Valencia.

[2] The King was at Hanover when the Pretender's son landed in Scotland.

Drummelzier, whom Sir John Hall had met going down to Scotland; that one order was sent to Newcastle, and another to Berwick.

Oct. 7th. Monday.

The Duke of Montrose came to me, and told me that Lord Stair had talked to him, after I had been set down at home, of sending for the Duke of Buccleuch; that he had advised him first to speak to the Duke of Queensberry with whom the Duke of Buccleuch was most intimate; and that thereon Lord Stair had sent an express for the Duke of Queensberry; that Lord Stair was so warm in what he imagined, that he would involve us all in a thing that was impracticable, and injurious to us, and that he would not be drawn into it. I told him, that the project seemed to me so full of absurdity, that I did not suppose it would take place, and therefore I saw no necessity of disputing about it, but that we should have patience, and only take care, that it should not be taken to be a proposal from us any farther than our general readiness to be of any use that was practicable. The Duke said, he had made his visit to the Chancellor last night, who had told him, that he was glad to hear several Lords of the north had offered to raise regiments for the King; that he had answered that he had in general told Lord Tweeddale, that he was ready to do any thing in his power, but that now, the rebels being possessed of the country, he could do nothing. The Chancellor said, that nothing was

thought of till the rebels came south; the Duke answered, that it could not be foreseen what would then be feasible, till the case happened, since they would probably leave a body behind them.

He said, the Chancellor said, there was nothing in Cope's orders to make him go to Inverness, but that he might have gone to Stirling, or where he thought most proper; and that the Chancellor also said, that he had thought lightly of the Highlands, but he saw they made a third of the island, in the map. I asked, if the Chancellor discovered what way the ministry intended to treat Scotland; the Duke told me, what he had said to the Chancellor, and that the Chancellor had answered in general terms.

Lord Stair came in, sate down between us, and told us, that he had sent for the Duke of Queensberry, and then said, as what he had spoke of to us would come before the council, he had thought of speaking to the King upon the subject, and wanted our opinions about it; that he proposed to tell him, that he had a great number of faithful subjects in Scotland, who had been misrepresented to him, though they had the principal interest in the country; that their ancestors had made the revolution, supported, and effected the Protestant succession, made the Union, and ventured their lives and fortunes in the last rebellion, when what the conduct of others had been his Majesty knew; and he, Lord Stair, knew that he did; and their families and they

had, at all times, been in the same interest, and firm friends to his Majesty's family; that, although they were not favourites, they had been ready at the beginning of this rebellion to have armed, and done whatever they could, but that they had been neglected, and had now lost their estates; but were ready to do any service they could still; and that as soon as the Highlanders, who were now possessed of the whole country, should move to the south, they would arm behind them, and cut off their communication with Scotland. He asked, what we thought of this, and looked at me, whereupon I said, 'My Lord Duke.' So the Duke of Montrose said, that he could have done service at the beginning, but that now he did not see that it was possible, and that he could not tell what would be so, when the Highlanders came south, nor what use it could be of to arm them; that he would be at liberty to do what should then be feasible, and not be tied down by an offer, for the ministers to send him down on a fool's errand, perhaps to be taken, &c. To this Lord Stair replied, and they entered into a dispute, which I took an opportunity to interrupt, by telling Lord Stair, that, as I understood the thing, I thought, that, by saying the first part of it to the King, his Lordship did a very great and essential service to his country; and that we peers could never enough thank him for taking this occasion to set us right in the King's mind; what effect it might have, I did not know; he said, that could not

fail. I added, that, as to the last part of it, I thought it might easily be freed from the Duke's objection, by making it general, and instead of offering to arm, &c., by offering to do any service in our power, whenever his Majesty or his ministry should think proper to employ us. The Duke repeated his objections to particular offers, with his reasons, only not mentioning what he had said to me, before Lord Stair came in, that, if he should go about to arm near Glasgow or Stirling, without the Duke of Argyle doing the same thing, this Duke had only to give the word to the Highland robbers, and let them in upon him, to overrun his whole estate.

Lord Stair pulled out a paper, writ in his own hand, to help his memory to the substance of what he was to say to the King, read it, and at the end a list of the names of peers, which he would repeat to the King: Dukes of Douglas, Queensberry, Montrose, Roxburgh, &c.; Earls Rothes, Hadington, Hoptoun, Sutherland, Dumfries, Marchmont, &c.; Marquis of Lothian, Lord Napier, Elphinstone, &c. He said, Lord Thanet had spoken strongly to Lord Harrington on a declaration from the King for liberty and free parliaments; that Lord Harrington had said, it could not be, as it would imply that the King had done something to the contrary; but that it would be very proper for the King's speech. Lord Stair said, he believed it would be in it, &c. I told him, care should be taken, how Scotland was

treated in the speech, that we might not be enslaved, or put under our old tyrant, on a false pretence of Jacobitism, that seemed to be artfully designed and propagated. Lord Stair said, he would speak of it at council; but that there was no danger, since our interest and the English was the same; he said too, that he was ill received at court, being suspected to be at the bottom of the demand for the declaration for liberty, &c. At court, Lord Tweeddale was more than usually gracious, and shewed me the Pretender's printed declaration of 30th September in answer to General Guest's threat to fire on Edinburgh, wherein, after calling it inhuman treatment, he says, he will make all possible reparation to the town, and reprisals, not only on the estates of those in the castle, but of those in the country, who are known abettors of the German government. He shewed me too a paper of intelligence from one James Wallace sent by Cope to Edinburgh, who says, that the castle had fired about ten guns, only two whereof had had any effect, but killed nobody, and some had been without ball; that, as soon as the castle fired, the young man left the abbey, and went to the camp; and that people said in Edinburgh, the Highlanders were eight thousand. He laughed at such intelligence. I then told him of the man come up with Mr. Carre, and what he said. He said, he hoped I had it in writing. I told him, I had, and I supposed he had it, for the advocate and Sir John Inglis had em-

ployed the man, and he had told them all; he said, the advocate was on the road, and had all the papers with him.

Lord Stair, coming out from the King, desired the Duke and I to let him make a visit for a few minutes, and then we should go together; but, on his staying longer than any body else, the Duke would not wait; so we went together. He said, Stair was so warm, he would draw us into a scrape; that his grandfather had lost his estate at the head of a party; he would not lose his at the tail of one; that he would not be transported; and that they might say what they would, why he would not; he cared not, since he was not in the army.

In the evening, conversing with my brother, it was agreed that he should talk to Mr. Fazakerly[1], &c., of the necessity of the affair in Scotland being brought into Parliament; that, by seeing the real causes, the remedies may be found, but point in particular against nobody, only that justice might be done the country unjustly accused of Jacobitism; and that, if such an inquiry ended in enslaving us to the Duke of Argyle, it would be no more than we should suffer without it.

Oct. 8th. Tuesday.

Mr. Carre and I went to the Duke of Newcastle, to whom he delivered the Mayor of Newcastle's letter; and we gave an account in general of what had passed and what my last letters said about Berwick, and the

[1] Member for Preston.

rebels raising money. He asked, what we took to be the cause of this. We told him, the factious dispute between those in power in Scotland, who considered only how to create blame to one another. He said, the advocate was raw in these affairs, but that the justice clerk was a man of sense. I said, he certainly did not err for want of sense. Mr. Carre said, he might have what sense he pleased, he would never have any credit in that country. I told him, I wanted to blame nobody, though I thought there were many to blame; that my only view was to fix this royal family on the throne, and to secure [the] constitution and peace of the country; and therefore I would say, the source of the evil was that the King's friends had all been neglected for a long time, and his enemies employed. He said, the King desired this affair might be inquired into, and that whoever was to blame might be known, and suffer for it. I told him, I hoped care would be taken to make a good use of this, and secure the peace of the country and the King's interest in it. He told us, three regiments were to sail this day from Willemstadt for Newcastle, by virtue of the first orders to the Duke, to be done in any of three cases, either, 1st, Of the French going into winter-quarters; 2d, Of the English prisoners coming to the army; and 3d, Of hearing of any embarkation for Great Britain, the two first cases having existed. He told us, they had news of three ships with arms sailing from Hamburgh for Scotland, and

he supposed they would have officers on board. Likewise he said, Marshal Wade said, that if Berwick was taken, he could not go to Edinburgh. I told him, the Marshal knew nothing of the south of Scotland, whatever he might do of the Highlands, for Berwick was thirty miles farther about to Edinburgh than the road, that did not go near it. He called in Lord Mark Kerr, when I showed him the plan, who said it was very exact as I explained it. He said, that the best account he had got was from Lord Home, and that he had told the King so. I told the Duke, I would at Kensington give him the plan with the relation of what had passed, and a memorial by the man, who had directed the King's artillery at the fight.

At Kensington, after the Duke of Newcastle came out from the King, I gave him the papers, and he told me, that he had told the King, I had such papers to give him. The Chancellor asked me the number of the rebels. I told him, by the best guess could be made, about 5000; that I had an account of the affair, whereby it would appear what a despicable pack they had been at first, and that if he pleased I would bring it to him. He desired I would, &c. Before this, Lord Tweeddale had showed me the Pretender's order, signed 'I. Murray,' for the collectors of the cess to bring in their books and pay in what was due, on pain of military execution; and Lord Stair had taken me aside, and told me, that he had said to the King

what he had told me, and that the King had heard him very graciously; that he had added to the general thing, that the Peers there were ready to arm when the rebels marched south, and cut off their communication; that the King said, he thought it was right, and had spoke to his ministers about it, and bid him, Lord Stair, talk of it to them. I told him, I foresaw that the ministry would be for putting the Duke of Argyle upon us. He answered, that it might be so, and no more. Mr. Carre told, that Peter Crawford had said to him, that the Duke of Argyle had represented the rebellion at first to the ministers as a trifle; but that here part of the ministry had treated it as an invention only to bring home the troops; that the Duke had asked arms, and had been answered, to apply to Sir John Cope for them, which he looked on as a slight, being what no man of spirit would have done; and so he came away from Scotland.

Oct. 10th, Thursday.

Lord Stair told me, that he had had this day a good deal of conversation with the King, who had told him, that the Duke of Argyle had proposed, that the principal thing to be done was to send forces to Stirling, to cut off the retreat of the rebels. Lord Stair answered, that it was very proper, but that the King's troops at Inverness were too far off, and that if the Duke of Argyle would arm his Argyleshire men, and send them to stop that pass, no doubt it would prevent their return; and that if he had armed two

hundred of 'em at first, he would have put an end to this rebellion; to which the King said, that the conduct then passed his comprehension. He told me, the Duke of Queensberry was very right; and on some more difficulties the Duke of Montrose made when we joined him, he said to him, that if we, who thought in the same way, did not all act together, we should make ourselves contemptible.

In the Evening.

The Duke of Montrose sent for me, and made many objections to what Lord Stair had said, and that we would not be drawn into a scheme in which there was not common sense. I told him to have patience, and that I hoped, he would not call it drawing him in if I armed, though there were no regular troops at Stirling. He said, if others did, he must follow. I said, that depended on the different situations of countries. I told the Chancellor, he would see by the papers, how small a force had ruined my country. He said, it was indeed surprising. I said, we, who had long seen the causes, had expected the effect, not indeed so great, but enough to undo the King's friends. He talked of news. I told him of the sally from the castle on the 6th, and the people's zeal, and the supposed march into England, &c.; but that the great object was to secure the country hereafter, and remedy what had past. He said, no doubt something must be done; many remedies had been spoke of; but the difficulty was, which was proper; that the disarming the Highlands had

been tried. I told him, no doubt it was right; but that alone would not do, since foreign arms could be brought in, as they had been now; but that the King had two-thirds of the country zealous for him on principle; and that he might see from Charles the Second's time in men, cess, and now in members of Parliament, the south of Tay was always computed two-thirds of the whole. He said, it had been proposed to arm, but that the Duke of Argyle had represented it as illegal without certain orders, but what had never been explained; and that Lord Tweeddale had said, it might be arming as many foes as friends. I said, as to the south it was a gross misrepresentation. He said, it meant only the Highlands. I said as to them, there were families as well known to be for the King as others against it, for they would always be on opposite sides, like Sweden and Denmark; but all at present would soon be over; and I hoped the like would be prevented for the future; that the country had been sacrificed to party. He said, it was clear that things must not be put on the same foot they had been. I told him, if we were to be transferred from one viceroy to another, the country would be totally undone. He said, a remedy must be found, but this must be over first. I said, that would soon be, if the King's troops would march; but that the Parliament was coming on very fast; and, considering the load of reproach the country lay under, not the popular but the neglect of the King's friends, no

Scotsman could sit still in Parliament without losing all credit in his country, as it was impossible that the King's speech and addresses should be silent on this rebellion; and at the same time I was very sensible, that whatever was done might soon get a twist to some party end or other, and rather do harm than good, unless the King's ministers would join in the direction of it, with a view of settling the King's interest in that country. He said, that he thought any thing of that kind had better be delayed till this was over, and that the speech and addresses would be without any reflections. I said, I would take the liberty to speak to him as one of the King's ministers, who would weigh this matter; the Duke of Newcastle having such a hurry of business, that one could not find time with him; that he knew the House of Commons; that any body that was impertinent or had a view to distress, might, on the address, say such things, as no Scotsman could let pass without discrediting himself; that all the friends I had were there; but that I had none that were not the King's; that he knew therefore my brother could not be silent; that I would say farther, that he could not omit to take this thing up as soon as it was named for the sake of the country; but as he had no view but the good of the country, and that the south of Scotland were friends to the King and the present ministry, if they had any view of putting matters on a right foot, I could assure him, that my brother would be glad to act in concert

with the ministry, and to direct things jointly, so as no party might take advantage from what was done. He returned me a great many thanks, and said he would take an opportunity to talk this matter over with me again. I told him, that after what I had offered to Lord Stair, I had told him, I would not go down till I knew whether Scotland was intended to be sacrificed or not, lest the national interest should be destroyed whilst I was busy about a provincial service; and that Lord Stair had said, he would mention it in council. He said, he would consider of it, as it was a matter that deserved great consideration. I told him, I would not detain him from the cabinet council, nor should I venture to trouble him unless he ordered me; but that I hoped, he would carry it in his mind, that my brother had no view but to set the country right in concurrence with the ministry, if they chose to make use of the opportunity which he was under a necessity of making use of. He said, he would take the liberty to send for me, or tell me an hour at court. He said, it was odd that Sir John Cope should fail so, and that must be examined. I told him, that had Edinburgh not been taken, the rebels could never have faced Sir John. He talked as one uninformed of the state of that town; so I mentioned the zeal and number of volunteers, and Sir John Cope's refusing arms to many after he came to Dunbar. He said, that when arming, the Highlands had been talked of; it had been said that the regular troops

would decide it; whereupon he had said, that the country also required protection; and this ought likewise to be considered.

Oct. 11th. Friday.

The Duke of Queensberry said, he had heard only in general what had passed from Lord Stair and the Duke of Montrose; that he saw no use regiments could be of if singly placed about the country, and that if they were formed into one body, we ought to consider who would command us. He appointed this evening to go to Lord Stair. I told him, I should concur with him and the Duke of Montrose, but that as to my own opinion, it would be first to save the country from being oppressed, and next at any risk to save my friends, for that, if the country was to be armed, they must be so and not their enemies. I told Lord Bolingbroke what had passed, and what I had said to the Chancellor; he said, that he did not see that I could possibly have conducted myself better. At Lord Stair's, the Dukes of Queensberry and Montrose being come in, Lord Stair said, that he wanted to consult us what was farther to be done. He then repeated what he had said to the King, and added, that last night at the cabinet council, our general offer having been talked of, the council thought that they could say nothing to it, unless it was more particularly specified, and an offer of some scheme proposed to them. He said, that unless something was done of this kind there was an end of the matter. This occasioned a long discourse between him and

the two Dukes: the substance was, the Duke of Queensberry said, that he had no doubt of raising the number of men, but he did not see how they could be made effectually useful, so as not to disgrace us; and that we should be laughed at for coming in at the fag end of the day. Besides that the Highlanders would probably leave some force behind them. Lord Stair replied, that as to useful, he did not think the men raised could be so, but that the offer was very important, as it shewed we were ready to serve the King, and that, without it, it would be said, that we declined having any thing to do in this affair; and that, as soon as the way was open to the castle, we might then arm safely. The Duke of Montrose said, that without a regular force to cover him from those, who might come from the Highlands, he was now of opinion he could not arm. He entered into a detail of his country, and said, he thought that some things should be added to our plan, so as to shew what use might be made of the forces to be raised in Scotland by cutting off the return, &c. Lord Stair said, it was very right, but that not above five thousand men should be raised by principal people, which might be done; that no Highlanders were left to come down; that two thousand men were raised in independent companies, and Lord Loudon's regiment, and that they were ordered to drive the rebels' cattle, &c., which would make 'em all return. I said, I thought the first point was, whether we should make a particular

offer, and if we thought so, we should consult the manner of it with other peers, without entering into military operations. The Duke of Queensberry objected to making his court even at this time. The Duke of Montrose said, he was for making an offer, whereby such things should be said as would make it appear useful. These peers were named, first the Duke of Buccleugh, whom the Duke of Queensberry is to talk to to-morrow, then Lord Rothes, for Fife, was named, and others for different places by Lord Stair, who added, that Lord —— might take it ill, if he was not named for the Merse, after which the Marquis of Lothian, Lord Dumfries, and others, were named. I then said, that as this was meant for a political use, to shew that we would and could serve the King, I would do nothing that should enable the Duke of Argyle to say we were forced to call his lackeys to our assistance to do any thing; that I knew Lord —— could fly as soon as raise a regiment in the Merse, but he might offer if he pleased, only that if he was made part of our plan, I would have nothing to do with it, but do what I thought proper myself. On this Lord Stair [said] 'No doubt he may do as he pleases, but 'he is not to be joined in this.' The Duke of Queensberry then talked of the Duke of Buccleugh, and then I said, that my fear was, they would send us out of the way when the Parliament began, to be left free to do what they would with Scotland, and saddle us with the Duke of Argyle. This the two

Dukes agreed to, but Lord Stair said, by —— they could not carry that point in the closet. I said, I wished so, but I thought to prevent it we should have the thing taken up immediately in Parliament, to fix the collar about the Duke's neck and then let 'em do their worst. This they approved, but feared it might not be done soon enough, before they might send us away.

Oct. 12th. Saturday.

The Duke of Montrose came in the morning to reconsider what passed last night, to reduce it to what was practicable. I told him, I thought we ought to specify no farther, than to say, we were ready to arm, if it could be of any service to the King, of which we could not presume to judge; he agreed, and desired I would see the Duke of Queensberry. I told the Duke of Queensberry my opinion. He said, he would go no farther than we had gone; that it would make us ridiculous, and we should be put into a ballad, for our regiments of no use. He said, he heard, that Lord —— was to offer to raise a regiment, in order to get rank.

Lord Stair came in from court, and told me, it was to tell me good news; that he had seen the Duke of Hamilton[1], who was ready to join with us, as his father had done, and in our project would do as we did; that when he came to town again on Thursday next, he would go to court; that he complained of not being lord lieutenant of his county, which,

[1] James, sixth Duke of Hamilton.

Lord Stair said, was a proper thing to mention on this occasion; I told him, the two Dukes were not of opinion to presume to enter into further particulars, than to offer to arm, if it could be useful, and one of 'em would not go so far. He said, there was no help for that, and was going away. I told him, I heard Lord —— was to offer to raise a regiment. He said, that he had done it that day. I asked, how it was received; he smiled, and nodded, saying, 'to be sure, graciously.' I told him, that then what I had proposed was done; that I need not remind him, Lord Stair, of the long connection that had been betwixt his family and mine; nor tell him, that my friends and myself had been worse used by Lord ——, than he had been in Galway by Lord ——; that I had therefore been surprised at what he had said last night, and must tell him, that Lord —— and I could not be in the same connection, nor under the same protection, our ties being incompatible. He said little but single words, and that Lord ——'s offer was separate from ours; I answered, that, the thing being done, I washed my hands on't.

Oct. 13th. Sunday.

I went to Lord Cobham, who said, he should not be surprised to see us Scots ready to leap over the house. I told him, we were undone; I only wished the English would have before this time thought a little more of Scotland, for that we had all foreseen the danger of our country, which had been thought of here only as a

present to be made to some great man. He mentioned the not arming us, which led me to tell him of the offers I had made, and Lord ——'s stepping in, and being accepted. The Duke of Queensberry, who had just come in, interrupted, and said, Lord —— had only offered to raise a regiment in the county. I asked his Grace, whether we had thought of any thing else; and on his looking surprised, and being silent, I told Lord Cobham, that, provided the King's service was done, and the country protected, it was not my business who did it; but that I could not but feel the treatment I received, for his Lordship knew, that Lord —— had been set up by the Duke of Argyle, as he depended on him, merely to oppose me and my friends in the county; so I had done.

Before this, he had said, that he knew we were all disgraced for the excise[1]. I told him, he was mistaken, for that the Scots had acted then, as he knew, principally with a view of joining a body of English, to gain, by supporting them in what was their object, their assistance to relieve Scotland from the subjection to one man.

Before I went to Lord Cobham's, Lord Rothes[2] came in, and shewed me a memorial he had given to the ministry, proposing to send two battalions, with arms, &c., to Dundee, to cover the arming of the country, and then to take Perth, Stirling, &c.;

[1] The resistance to Sir Robert Walpole's Excise Scheme.

[2] The Earl of Rothes, a General Officer, Colonel of the third regiment of Foot Guards, a member of the Privy Council, and K. T.

I approved of it; and he said, they would not part with a single regiment, though the transports might remain there to carry 'em back when wanted. General John Campbell, at Lord Cobham's, talked much of arming about Dunbarton Castle; said, the Duke of Cumberland, at his desire, had sent some gunners to try to get thither; and that he had desired Lord Harrington to send a ship with arms thither.

When I mentioned to Lord Cobham, what Lord Stair had said of the cabinet council's opinion of our general offer, he said, that he had heard nothing of it at that council, farther than general talk of raising the militia.

Oct. 15th. Tuesday.

I shewed the Duke of Newcastle my letter from Berwick. He said, he had one, and laid it before the King, but had not answered it, as it contained no request. I said, I only shewed it him, that he might be so good as to do me justice with the King. He said, he had done it, but desired to keep my letter with the answer annexed, for a day or two, as it was more particular than his. I then spoke of Mr. Jack, whom he promised to recommend to the Duke of Montague[1]. The Chancellor spoke to me only of Mr. Jack's paper and plan.

Lord Stair said, he wanted to talk to me about our affairs; that it was impossible, but the state of the nation must be carried to be considered; that Bolingbroke should be talked to about it, as the

[1] Master-General of the Ordnance.

fittest man; and that we should make some plan, and then try the English members. I said, they seemed to me regardless of our country. He said, our country must not be mentioned; it was theirs; and that ours must follow of course. He said, it must be taken up from the revolution, upon original papers. I told him, I would wait upon him. He said, the news by the post was, that the Mackenzies, the largest clan next to the Campbells, being about three thousand men, and the Fraziers, and Macintoshes, were in arms to join the rebels, and had besieged the President of the Session in his house.

Oct. 18th. Friday. At court the Duke of Argyle came up to me, and said, there was a vast confusion. I said, there was a great crowd, &c. He said, he meant the nation; I said, a limb was torn off from it. He said in 1715, he remembered my father had brought two battalions out of the Merse. I said he had, and two troops of horse. He repeated, he remembered the two battalions. He said, when he came back from Argyleshire, from danger of being taken, nobody at Edinburgh would believe any thing of it. On my mentioning Wade's saying, that this could not have happened, had the Highlanders been disarmed, he said, there were now three companies at Inverary, but no arms to give 'em, and that the Camerons had been in arms several years, and he had paid 7½ per cent. of his rents to be safe from plunder; but that when he had spoke of it, it was not regarded. He

agreed, Scotland had been neglected; he mentioned the gate of Edinburgh being opened to let out a hackney coach, and then the Highlanders. He said, as to the post-office here, they could read a bill of exchange wrote in the letter *unico contextu*, and so might read a printed paper.

Lord Stair called me away, and shewed me a paper, containing a sort of speech in general on the necessity of doing something on this occasion, by way of laws to secure the constitution. I said, it was all right. He said, we, that thought alike, should act together. I agreed, but feared the English had no regard to our country. He said, ours must follow of course, and that no ministers could withstand it; that he had sent Keith to Mr. Spencer with the paper, who had approved it, and that he Lord Stair would shew it to the Duke of Bedford, and then talk with some principal people; that Lord Gower was right, and had been in with the King this day, who had said to him twice, that he was much obliged to him; that we should concert together, but the Duke of Queensberry was going out of town. I told him, perhaps he did not think he could do any thing, being out of the scene. I asked him, if he himself had thought of any thing particular to follow his plan by way of laws to be proposed. He said, these would easily be agreed on; it was impossible there could be any difference about them. He then said, Mr. Pelham had said, my brother had spoke perfectly well, giving sparring blows to every body.

Mr. Nimmo, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Carre, my brother and I talked of turning this affair to the advantage of Edinburgh in particular, to be further considered.

At Dinner.

A list of the principal people, and those of most integrity at Edinburgh, made out, to be sent for as soon as the committee should be named by the House of Commons.

Oct. 21st. Monday.

The Duke of Queensberry sent for me to tell me, that he talked with Pitt and my brother at the house; that Pitt had said, if we did not get the committee now, we never should, but that it was a matter attended with niceties and difficulties, and therefore he desired a meeting, but a small one, of Lord Barrington, Mr. Lyttelton and Pitt, with my brother, the Dukes of Montrose, Queensberry and me. I said, that the two gentlemen he named were influenced by Mr. Pitt, so that it was only multiplying himself, and that none of them could have objected niceties and difficulties to him; these must have come from himself, therefore were to be discussed with him alone, and afterwards he might talk 'em over in private with others; that I knew enough of meetings to expect no good from 'em, and that as we could only expect the committee in this juncture, I was resolved Scotland should have an answer, 'aye,' or 'no.' That the leaders of every other faction in the House were already engaged, and that the thing must to the end be kept on the footing of impartiality; that

Oct. 22d. Tuesday.

it was levelled at nobody in particular, but meant to serve the country, and that by this I would stand and take any side by the hand for this purpose; that a meeting must give offence to some or other, as had been done in the Scots petition, or foment an opposition to it, which I wished first to see in the House of Commons, where answers would be ready as good as the objections; that at the same time I would walk barefooted from one end of the town to the other to gain Mr. Pitt to it, but would not spoil business by meetings; that I had enough of cabals, so mentioned what had passed relative to myself at Lord Stair's; but that I would not offend him, and he would be so if we had a meeting without him; but that I would enter into no connexion to lend my shoulder to any who did not lend his to me; that I could not pay guineas, and take shillings. He said, that had been very odd. I said, I would concur with any body in the general cause, and would not quarrel with Lord Stair, or any other, and therefore would not have a meeting when the same thing might be done by private visits, for in the other way I saw dangers and no utility. He said, Lord Tweeddale had been with him and the Duke of Montrose, and had said, that it was true, he had been of opinion against arming the country; but that he had done no more than others; and he wished, that all the letters that had passed about it were printed. He appealed to the Duke of Montrose, whether he had not been two years ago for

naming Lord Lieutenants, but that it had been refused, and that he had still the commissions ready for signing. I told his Grace, that I had never heard of this till now, but that nothing was levelled against him; the inquiry was general; and that I would, whenever he pleased, come to his house to meet Mr. Pitt, but no number however small; and that I desired, he would let me know, whenever he had fixed an hour with the Duke of Montrose and Mr. Pitt.

Oct. 23d. Wednesday. I told Lord Gower the necessity of inquiring into the state of Scotland now, and that I had told the Chancellor of it, and offered to concur with the ministers. He said, he had never heard of it, and asked, if he might tell the Chancellor and Mr. Pelham of it. I agreed, and told him, we were ready to concur with them, if they had any good intentions for Scotland.

Oct. 24th. Thursday. Mr. Pitt came here, and told me he had wanted with some of his friends to meet some of the Scots peers, not to make objections, but to offer their assistance, if any thing was proposed, and to desire to know what we intended, to what end we meant to direct our view, and what consequences might arise from this thing at this time, that harm might not be done. I asked what. He said, we might shew the contrary of what we intended. I said, it must appear that the country was zealously affected to the present government. He asked what evidence we had, and whe-

ther we might not expose the well-affected families to the rebels. I told him, as to the general state of Scotland, the orders and letters in the hands of the ministers were all wanted; and the parole evidence would only relate to the city of Edinburgh, which it was important to put into a right method. He said, it was so, and he would assist. I told him, I was not for meetings till the thing was in the House, that it might not seem directed at any one in particular, as it was meant nationally to put us on the same footing as England, and that in this light I wanted one of his character to second it, and my brother should move it. He said, he would do so, for my brother would move it ably, only he, on account of his health, could not take much pains in it, and hoped we would assist him. I offered him my help in this or any thing else. He said, he must talk with his friends, so could not engage till then, and agreed it should be done on Monday, as the sooner the better, not to protract the session, to give room for motions meant to draw negatives. He said, he thought it ought to be moved without any hostility, of which there had been some shewed by my brother the first day; and that it should be proposed to be in a committee of the whole House, only precluding any refusal of papers, by offering, if any necessary were not fit to be seen, it might then be made a private committee.

My brother told me, he had spoke to Mr. Pelham, who had expressed great civility, and seemed

pleased, when he offered to concur with him in the inquiry, meaning nothing but national good by it; that Mr. Pelham had asked, whether he had told the Duke of Argyle of it. My brother said 'no,' as his Grace never spoke to him; that Mr. Pelham had told him some particulars about arming the militia in Scotland; that he had told Mr. P. he intended a private committee to prevent any papers being made an ill use of, which he approved; and that it should be under the direction of those who were not willing to do any hurt by it, which, Mr. P. said, he did not suspect; that Mr. P. spoke to him freely of the suspicions of many who affected great zeal.

Mr. Oswald came in from Mr. Pitt's, where, he said, it had been agreed to support the motion on Monday, only Mr. Pitt thought it should be an open committee, which is to be further considered. He said, they had all approved of my reasons for avoiding a meeting, and all agreed to do justice to Scotland.

Nov. 6th. Wednesday.

I told Mr. Lyttelton, that as Mr. Pitt and we began the world together, and I had hoped, we should go through it in friendship, since we thought in the same manner on public matters, I should be sorry, if the heat on Monday last between him and my brother was to leave any rancour in his mind. He said, it left none, and was all over. I told him of the Chancellor's telling my brother, that he must move for a Bill to adjourn the Sessions, which he

was to do as this day. He said laughing, that the Chancellor wanted to bring my brother's hand to the Advocate's ear; and then said, the Parliament would be adjourned when the Land and Malt were passed, that is, in a fortnight; and then this crisis would be brought to a decision.

Nov. 12th. Tuesday.

Lord Rothes having told me yesterday, that Lord Stair desired him to get a meeting of the Scots peers to concert measures concerning our country and sending to me this morning, I went to him, and told him, I was ready to concur, but expected no good from meetings. He said, he found [the] Duke of Montrose willing, and was going to him. I told him, I should be at his orders. At three o'clock I got a letter from Lord Rothes, that he was to see the Duke of Queensberry, since the Duke of Montrose declined it. I said, I was ready; but desired meetings might not be multiplied.

At Night.

Lord Rothes came, and told me, the Duke of Queensberry was very hearty, and had told him, that he had some time ago spoke to the Duke of Newcastle on letters from Dumfries, desiring to arm, but had got no answer. He said, that the Duke of Montrose's doubts were now removed, and that we were to meet to-morrow at eleven at the Duke of Queensberry's. I told him, I was ready; and desired him to think what was proper to be done. He put it upon me; but said, he would do all he could.

Nov. 13th. Wednesday.

The Duke of Montrose, Lord Rothes, and I came to the Duke of Queensberry's, where after some talk it was agreed to offer to arm our countrymen. I desired we might write down the propositions, as they were agreed to, that we might follow some method. On which I wrote down our agreement to offer to arm, by raising, without commissions of lieutenancy, regiments of one thousand men each; and so all the particulars of our plan. Then it was agreed, that the Duke of Queensberry should write to the Duke of Buccleugh for his concurrence; that the Duke of Montrose and Lord Rothes should acquaint Lord Tweeddale with our resolution; and that in the evening Lord Rothes and I should inform Lord Stair of it. I then proposed, to avoid delays, that we might meet again at seven o'clock, with an agent, to put our plan into form without further meetings; which being agreed to, a preamble was talked of; whereon I read what I had wrote this morning for that. This produced a silence. After a little I told 'em, they might alter it as they liked; all I meant was to say something to avoid our being represented as presumptuous in Scotland. On this, exceptions were taken to passages of it, that might alienate the new converts, and others that seemed to condemn the conduct held; whereupon it was reduced to two sentences declaring the loyalty of our countrymen, and that we believed they believed us so much so, that they would arm under our command.

At six the Duke of Montrose, Lord Rothes, and I went to Lord Stair, and read him the propositions we had drawn up; to which he agreed, and said, he would write to [the] Duke of Hamilton to come up to town. He then mentioned Lord Dumfries for one, besides himself. He told us, that he had mentioned something of this kind to the ministers; that the Duke of Newcastle said, it was right; and that Lord Harrington said, he thought it wrong; so that he thought it would be rejected; that the Duke of Argyle was the only man who was to be permitted to arm in Scotland; and that he would readily accept of him, Lord Stair, as his deputy; but that he would concur with us, and present to the King any thing we thought proper.

We went to the Duke of Queensberry's, when Mr. Wilson, the agent, came; and with his assistance we agreed on, and I drew up, the plan to be laid before the King to-morrow. Lord Rothes made Lord Tweeddale's name be put into the title of it, saying, that he had told them, that he approved of it, and desired to concur in it; so it was done.

Nov. 14th. Thursday.

I sent to the Duke of Queensberry to add to the plan, which had been left with him to get a fair copy for the King, that the officers taken from the army might return to half-pay when our corps were broke. He came hither, and said, he had not copied it, for his letter to the Duke of Buccleugh had not gone till this morning, by a mistake; and he objected to Lord Tweeddale's name in the title, lest it should give

the thing an air of party, and make it odious in Scotland. Lord Rothes came in, and said, the Marquis of Tweeddale objected to the preamble, as not necessary for him to assure the King of his zeal; and that it might offend the country. He said, the Duke of Montrose thought it right, but would submit to others. On this, he went to bring the Duke of Montrose. On their coming, we agreed that the preamble was proper for us, and that Lord Tweeddale's name should be struck out of the title; but that, as he had said, he could not go in with Lord Stair with it to the King, as by his office he went in alone, we should desire him to present it, and leave Lord Stair's name in the title. Lord Rothes said, he might take this ill, as he had declared his concurrence in it; so it was agreed, that the Duke of Montrose and Lord Rothes should inform him of it; and also that we should delay presenting it till to-morrow, that he might go out; and by that time we should have the Duke of Buccleugh's answer. I proposed being ready what to do, if Lord Tweeddale thought it was best to have it offered to-day; but this was thought a useless difficulty.

The Duke of Montrose and Lord Rothes told us, Lord Tweeddale agreed to all, but could not go out, and therefore authorised Lord Stair to declare his concurrence to the plan, which we had left to himself to do verbally, and to deliver it to the King; that he had also said, that it ought to be done to-

day, as there was to be a cabinet council to-night, wherein some resolution about Scotland might be taken; and then we should come too late. On this it being agreed, that it should first be offered to the King, my servant was immediately set to copy it; and the Duke of Queensberry and Lord Rothes went to Lord Stair to tell him of all, keep him at home till the fair copy came, and press him to present it this morning.

The three lords returned, and said, Lord Stair was coming hither, but had objections to presenting it without communicating it to the ministers. To this the Duke of Montrose objected, that then it would not make the same impression on the King.

Lord Stair came in, heard the plan read, approved of it, and then objected, that he could not present it this morning, nor without communicating it to the ministers, and so was for putting it off till to-morrow. I said, that time gained was a principal point, and that, if he shewed it to the ministers before the cabinet council, he might then produce it there, and to-morrow morning another should be sent him for the King, with the Duke of Buccleugh's name, if he concurred, provided his Lordship assured us, that nothing that should pass at the cabinet would hinder his laying it before the King. On these terms the Duke of Montrose agreed; and then Lord Stair asked, if we would not choose to have the names of other peers. We said, if more troops were wanted, he might in general say, that

others too were ready; that this would prevent delays, and was the method taken in England, where first one, and then another, had offered.

Nov. 15th. Friday.

At court, the Duke of Montrose and Lord Rothes told me, that Lord Stair said, our paper had been a bomb in the council; that he had told the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington before of it; the first approved it, and the other not; that at council the Chancellor had said, it required consideration, after it had been laid before the King; most of the others said nothing, but, by their countenances, were surprised.

The ministers at court seemed very busy, and the Duke of Argyle much employed; so Lord Rothes said, the thing worked. Lord Stair went in to present the paper to the King, but went out another way; so we waited till all were gone; and going home I saw his chariot at White's.

Nov. 16th. Saturday.

Lord Rothes came, and told me, that Lord Stair had not presented our paper to the King, not having been able to get an audience, and that he had hindered the Duke of Newcastle from presenting it, saying, he had orders to do it; that he was to present it to-day; and he, Lord Rothes, was going to the Duke of Montrose, to go along with him, to remind him of it. I told him, that, if Lord Stair did not, the Duke of Montrose should do it himself, or Lord Rothes, or else we should go to the Duke of Newcastle, and desire him to do it. He said, the Duke of Newcastle was

gone out of town. Lord Bolingbroke thought the proposal too modest.

Nov. 17th. Sunday. Lord Cathcart told me, he had carried our proposal copied by Keith, Lord Stair's secretary, to the Duke of Cumberland, but that he knew not his opinion of it yet.

Nov. 18th. Monday. Lord Stair told me, that on Saturday he carried in our paper to the King; that he seemed pleased with it; but said his ministers found great difficulties in it. Lord Stair said, it was meant only for his service; the King said, the Parliament would form objections to it, as had been done to the former; whereupon Lord Stair shewed him the difference, to obviate 'em, and told him, it was laid before him for his judgment; and if he liked it, he could make others come into it, and that it was his business, which we should not stir in but under his orders; upon which the King told him, he was obliged to do what others chose for him. He told me, that Mr. Pelham seemed against it, and more than ever determined to set the Duke of Argyle up in Scotland.

At court I told Mr. Pelham, that the French were employing their favourite men against this country, as I was assured. He said, they intended an invasion. I then told him, our paper was intended only for the King's service, and to do our duty to our country, and not to add, or give any distress, or with any factious view; and that, if any such use was made of it, we did not intend it. He said, Stair

had been with him, and told him what had passed in the closet; that I knew he was warm; but that he had asked the King, if any of his ministers had given an opinion about it. The King said, 'No;' and that Lord Stair must have mistaken him; for he said only, it would meet with difficulties in Parliament. He told me of a great person soliciting personally against the former. I told him, I wished what they were now doing in Scotland might answer, but that it gave great uneasiness, and even Lord Stair believed, he was resolved to put that country into the former hands. He said, Stair did not consider the ministry was now a chaos, but would have people break from their old friendships, before they could adjust any thing; or else he supposed things; as if any body could think of putting Scotland into the same management it had been in these last twenty years. On this the Duke of Newcastle came up, to whom I told what had passed on our proposal, as to presenting it by him. He said, the Parliament would find difficulties; that Lord Tweeddale had desired an answer might be given soon; and he had answered, that the King would refer it to his servants to consider. He then asked me, how soon it could be executed. I said, the country was at a distance, but that the people were ready to rise, only that money must be sent down, or else they could not subsist. Mr. Pelham added, 'and arms.' The Duke said, it must be considered, what Parliament would say. I said, it ought never to come to

Parliament, unless it was thought for the King's service; the Duke said, that was speaking like myself; and so we parted.

Nov. 22d. Friday.

I went to Lord Stair on a message from him, and found the Duke of Queensberry with him. He proposed to apply for an answer to our proposal, as necessary to vindicate ourselves. The Duke said, he saw no hurt in desiring the ministers to answer us, though he thought it done already in effect. I said, I did not know how the thing stood; that it might be improper to hurry 'em, if they were considering of it, and that I thought we had done our parts, and wanted no vindication. On this Lord Stair grew angry, and said, if we thought so, there was an end; and that, if we would not act all in a body, we neither could desire, nor deserved, any consideration. The Duke said, that, if he meant acting with Lord Tweeddale, he would not, for he was become odious in the country, and could only bring us to the same state. Lord Stair said, he thought as his Grace did. The Duke of Montrose came in, and said, the ministers intended to give us no answer, but to leave us in suspense. The Duke of Queensberry went away, saying, he would concur in whatever we resolved. I said, the case being as the Duke said, I thought we ought to desire an answer, if Lord Rothes was of the same mind. On this it was agreed, that Lord Stair should desire the King to order us an answer, and to do it without meeting with other peers, as Lord Stair hinted we ought to do.

At court Lord Rothes said, he was against this of Lord Stair, unless he knew what was to follow, for as to any complaints in Parliament, he would not concur.

I asked Mr. Pelham, whether they would give us any answer. He said, he thought they should, and he was ready; that I knew well enough the difficulties he must meet with in Parliament, when he did not know who were to vote for or against it. I told him, I hoped they would give us answers, one way or other, after considering the present state of Scotland, which any ten rebels might plunder; and that they would not think of bringing down the Highlanders upon us, which would undo us entirely; and that I hoped, it was not true, what I had heard (Lord Stair said it) said, that we were considered as people, who since 1715 had been obstinate opposers of what were called the King's measures. On this he took me into another corner, and said, he assured me, none of the King's ministers thought of us in that manner, and, he was sure, none had ever said any such thing.

I met the Duke of Newcastle, who took me aside, to know if I had heard any thing. I said much the same to him, as to his brother. He said, as Lord Stair was to speak to the King, he would order an answer. I said, I thought it had better come without this. He said, all possible regard should be had to the south of Scotland, and he did not desire to see the Highlanders there, either to defend them (the

south) or offend us; and that, as to us, we ought not to believe every thing that people's imagination prompted them to say.

Nov. 24th. Sunday. Lord Stair sent Mr. Keith to tell me, that the Duke of Newcastle had said, there was to be a cabinet council held on our proposal; and at court he told me, the Duke of Cumberland had just told him it was to be to-morrow. He laughed, and said he saw well enough what answer was to be given.

Nov. 26th. Tuesday. Lord Stair sent Mr. Keith to tell me, that last night the cabinet council had met on our proposal; that neither the Dukes of Argyle, or Bedford, or Lord Tweeddale, or Cobham had been present; that Mr. Pelham made difficulties about the Parliament, and the Duke of Newcastle joined in them, as well as in saying the proposal was very right, had it been done before; on which Lord Stair said, if it was right, no more time ought to be lost, no more delays made, as some of 'em seemed to do. Mr. Pelham said, if more force was wanted, he should advise bringing over the Hessians. Then Lord Stair [said] that every body would think, and he did think, this was plainly giving the exclusion to the whole Scots nation, and done only for this, although their zeal for the King could not be called in question. On this they fell all into private committees; and at last the result was, that the alternative should be proposed to the King, either to accept of these

regiments, or to send four or five battalions from Wade's army to give the superiority in Scotland to the King's friends, or to send for the Hessians. This resolution was occasioned by Mr. Pelham's saying, there was news of several Highland clans being ready to rise to join the rebels. At Battersea I read considerations on our proposal to Lord Bolingbroke, who said, that they were strong sense. He was much provoked at the thoughts of bringing over the Hessians.

Nov. 28th. Thursday.

Lord Rothes told me, that last night another cabinet council had been held on our proposal on the King's referring back to them the alternatives, and that there the Duke of Argyle had named several Lords ready to do the same thing, the Duke of Buccleugh, Lord Lothian[1], Hopetoun, &c. and Sir James Grant, but it was unnecessary, the towns of Edinburgh and Glasgow raising 1000 men each, and Stirling 400; whereupon it was agreed to reject our proposal, and to name the Earl of Home to command the Edinburgh subscription men, and the Earl of Glencairn those of Glasgow.

Nov. 29th. Friday.

Lord Stair told me, that at council our proposal was thought not needful; but the Duke of Argyle had paid much compliment to it, and had read a long list of other peers, who would do the same, and were equally entitled to be provided for, to which Lord Stair had answered,

[1] Lord Clerk Register.

that we did not desire to be employed, or to exclude others; that we only proposed to arm the country for the King's service as he thought fit; that then the Duke of Newcastle writ down what was agreed on; and he went away. He called me into another room, to ask if we would not think it fit to authorise him to say something in our names to the King. I said, I had heard the Duke of Montrose was to go to the King, and I had thought of doing so too, but would delay it till to-morrow. He then said, he would send to the others named in the proposal to meet at his house at ten o'clock to-morrow. The Duke of Montrose, after he came out from the King, told me, he had been in the morning with the Duke of Newcastle, and talked through the proposal with him; that all he had answered had been the time necessary to raise these men, and the difficulties in the House of Commons. He then told me, that he had [been] very graciously received by the King, who had said, he was very much obliged to the Lords who had made the offer, and that he liked it; but his ministers found difficulties in Parliament. Then he said, he wished some method was thought of to prevent the like of this for the future, and expressed his confidence in the Duke's loyalty and zeal.

Nov. 30th. Saturday.

The Dukes of Queensberry, Montrose, and I met at Lord Stair's, who proposed to tell the King in our joint names, that we had made our proposal only for his service,

and were ready to serve him in any shape he thought proper. The only objection made to this was, its being already done. I told them, I would go in to the King this day. Then Lord Stair[1] talked of the danger of our becoming a province to France. I went into the closet to the King after the ministers were gone out. I told him, I did not come to trouble him about a proposal wherein I had a share. He said, 'I liked it, but the difficulties, it would have 'met with in the House of Commons, made it im-'practicable.' I said, we were too happy to have his approbation; it was our duty to submit to what was thought for his service. Then I told him my share in it, and what I had done before. He said, 'You know what a distress it would have been, 'and what an effect abroad it would have had, had 'it been rejected in the House, or carried by a small 'number; you know how the last was carried, so 'many voting against it.' I told him, I did not mention it, but to shew that we were ready to serve him in any shape; that our wish would have been to have had him form the plan, and left us the honour of the execution only; that my family, he knew, had always been zealous friends to his cause; that I was the same, and ready to set my life and fortune at the same stake; that my brother had voted against the last regiments, but had no view

[1] Lord Stair was at this time Commander in Chief of the Forces in England, having received his appointment in February 1744. He had resigned the command of the forces in Germany in disgust, after the battle of Dettingen, and ended his embassy to the States General in October 1743.

in it of distressing his service, nor would have any such view at any time; that he was the only person with whom I had any influence or interest in the House of Commons; and that I could assure him, he would exert all his talents to serve his family; that it was in this view we had agreed that he should propose the act making it treason to correspond with the Pretender's son, when it was neglected by others. I told him, that I desired to inform him of the state of Scotland; that all the South was zealous for him. He said, they were all Presbyterians, who had always been for his family; that Dumfries, Glasgow, and others were good towns, but that he could not say so much for Edinburgh. I told him, he had even there at least four out of five. He said, there were a great many Jacobites there. I said, that in the South there were not a hundred Papists, and that the people were zealous for him, and all those that had property. He said, he believed so, except Lord Kilmarnock. I said, he was a man of desperate fortune, whose estate would go to his creditors, when his person was under forfeiture; that I had an estate in the country where he lived, and there was none of property there; and in another county, there was but one man of property, a Jacobite, against whom a warrant had been granted. He said, 'Mr. H.,' but that he had not been taken. I said, there was not a man of 'em could carry out a hundred men against him in the South. He said,

the southern parts liked the Union, and found benefit by it. I said, his Majesty knew that it had been made to bring the crown into his family. He said, 'Yes, but they had felt benefit by it too.' I said, no doubt they had; that I could assure his Majesty, he had twenty thousand good men ready to arm for him in the South; and that all we desired, was to have him for our King. He said, he had ordered the Duke, (who was in very great spirits, and extremely pleased with the civilities he received in the country) as soon as this was decided, to detach a body of troops to Scotland, and that the Scots regiments were to recruit in the south of Scotland; but that I knew that London was the principal place. I said, his Majesty was the best judge; that his people in Scotland desired no other; that I had lived in his foreign dominions, and therefore could assure him, that he had nowhere better subjects than in the south of Scotland; and who wished to see his interest superior, abroad and at home, and to see him respected on the continent as well as here; that they had nothing to do with the English factions. He said, 'You have factions amongst 'yourselves; there are the Highlands against the 'Lowlands, and others; but one must do the best 'one can.' I said, there were no factions against him; all we desired, was to have him cast an eye upon us, and to have access to him. He said, he had never refused anybody. I said, I was far from meaning so, and that I had taken the liberty to

trouble him, only to represent the state of Scotland to him. He said, he looked on the two countries as one united, and would equally regard them both; that Scotland had always been well affected; but indeed the last elections had not gone as he desired; but, he hoped, it would not be so more. I said, that the elections had never gone against him; that indeed if any subject would act without regard to his interest, and pretend to set himself up, it would create difficulties; but that all we desired to know was, his Majesty's own opinion. He said, he never would let any subject set himself between him and his people. I said, that was all we desired; we wanted to behave like good subjects, and have none between him and us. He repeated, he had never refused any. I told him, I am sure I ought not to think so; since he had shewed but too much goodness in hearing me so long; that it was the first time I had ever had the honour to speak to him; and I desired he would be assured, that he had not a subject more affectionate to his cause than I was; that I wished the method proposed now, to arm in Scotland, might answer. He said, 'What would 'you have me do? they have offered it; they 'have offered it.' I said, I wished it success; but could have wished in this, and in ours, that his Majesty, who understood these matters better than any in his council, had formed the plan. He said, the House of Commons would not consent, as I saw by the last. I said, I believed many voted then,

because they thought he did not approve of it. He said, 'I did not approve of it at first. But these 'lords having shewed so much zeal, my ministers 'thought it was proper; and when I did approve of 'it, it should not have been obstructed.' He said, great zeal had been shewed everywhere; and when this was over, some scheme must be thought of to prevent it for the future. I said, the south of Scotland would be glad to concur in any his Majesty judged himself to be proper. He said, his ministers would propose something to secure the south of Scotland for the future. I said, whatever service in that, or any thing else I could do for his family, I should always be ready to do. I begged leave to assure him, he should always find me a faithful subject; and if he ever did me the honour to speak to me again, he should always find me a man of truth. When the King mentioned the Duke, he said, he had some regiments together, with which he was sure he would give a good account of the rebels. I told the King, I hoped so; and did not doubt it; that they were a pack of robbers from the head of Argyleshire; that his Majesty knew well enough from what country they came. He said, 'yes;' they were the Camerons, the Stewarts of Appen, and the Athole men.

My brother[1] told me, he had been last night with

[1] The Honourable Alexander Hume Campbell, twin-brother to the Earl of Marchmont, member for Berwickshire, was then attorney-general to the Prince of Wales. In 1756 he was appointed to the office of Lord Clerk Register, and held it till his death in 1761.

Mr. Drax[1], the Prince's secretary, on a note from him, when he had notified to him, that the Prince expected all his family to go together to support the measures of the administration, and that, as Mr. Hume did not act so, he was to write him a letter discharging him. In the conversation Mr. Drax said, that the Prince was to support the Pelhams, and that his dismission was to be ascribed to Lord Granville. He also proposed, that my brother should see the Prince. My brother said, that the Prince had not spoke to him these two years,—in answer to Drax's assuring him, that the Prince had a great regard to him. He said too, that he had nothing to say to the Prince, other than that he would support all the measures he thought conducive to the King's interests, but no others; and that he would not betray the duty he owed to his own country, part of which he represented. Mr. Drax said, then he had nothing to do, since he had no more to say, than to execute his orders, by writing him a letter, which my brother expects this day.

1745-6. Jan. 2nd. Thursday.

Having asked an audience of the Duke, and being ordered to come at two o'clock, I told his Royal Highness, that hearing he was going to Scotland, I came to make him an offer of my service, to assure him, not only of my zeal, but of that of all the Lowlands; and

Jan. 8th. Wednesday.

[1] A member of the House of Commons. He was made Secretary to the Prince in January 1745, on Mr. Lyttelton being made a Lord of the Treasury.

that the gentry and people will be glad to shew it by supporting his Royal Highness in whatever manner he should think proper. He thanked me; said, the King would not send him for some time, and until there was a greater army there; that he was persuaded of the loyalty and zeal of the Lowlands, and desired to see me again before he went, that he might advise what was fit to be done for the defence of the country: he then mentioned the Highlanders, and said, the men were bad, and not so properly rebels, as robbers, the only rebels being their chiefs I recommended Mr. Jack to him; and he bade me bring him his papers. I assured him of my desire to shew my respect to him, and be of any use to promote the King's service, and his glory. He said the zeal of my family was very well known; and he desired my friendship. I told him, I would be glad of every occasion of expressing my duty, and, through him, to the King. I added, we had been made obnoxious in Scotland, only for desiring to have no viceroy. He said, he saw no use of any, as we were part of the same kingdom; that the Highlanders were always ready to come down to rob, he supposed, but that the Lowlands were not to be considered in the same light.

Jan. 23rd. Thursday.

I carried to the Duke Mr. Jack's papers. He said, he had got the King's orders to go to Scotland. I offered him my service, if I could be of any. He thanked me, and said, he would not put me to the trouble. I

told him, if I could be of any use, I should think it a very great pleasure. He said, the Lowlands were in general well affected; that he should be mostly in the Highlands; that Hawley[1] would probably beat the rebels before he got down; that indeed if he did not, and they turned south, it would be well for the King's friends to be there, and that he knew little of the country. I said, that if I could be of any service to him, so far from thinking it any trouble, I should rejoice at the opportunity of having the honour to be known to him; and that as he put it entirely on the trouble, I assured him, that I should think it an honour and a pleasure. He said, he knew nothing of these matters; he would talk with the King's ministers, and let me know. I told him, I should be extremely glad to receive his orders. He said, he should let me know, and would be glad of my further acquaintance; he laid the blame of the affair of Hawley[2] on want of discipline; and said, were he there, he would attack the rebels with the men that Hawley now had; he said, soldiers must be told what they are to do; and he believed, now they would do it.

I told Sir Everard Fawkener[3], that I had offered my services to the Duke; and I desired him to put

[1] General Cope commanded the Forces in Scotland during the Rebellion, until he was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Hawley, in December 1745.

[2] The defeat at Falkirk, on the 17th January 1746. General Hawley advanced against the rebels in order to compel them to raise the siege of Stirling Castle, but was worsted with considerable loss.

[3] Military secretary to the Duke of Cumberland.

the Duke in mind, that I might know as soon as possible, whether it was thought proper for me to go down or not. He said, he wished I were to go. I told him, that I had been told, it was not thought so. He said, he knew nothing of that. I told him, I only mentioned it to shew my reason of doubting, which I desired to be clear about as soon as possible. He said, he should be sure to take care of it.

Jan. 24th. Friday.

Hearing at court, that on Hawley's not being to fight for ten days, the Duke had desired of the King, either not to go for Scotland till the news of the action arrived, or to go immediately, so as to be present at it, and that the King had agreed to the last, whereon the Duke was to set out this night at twelve, I threw myself in the Duke's way; but as he said nothing, I desired Sir Everard Fawkener to remind the Duke of what he had said, and to assure him of my readiness. I sent down a servant to wait for Sir Edward, and asked, if he had any commands. He sent me word, he would write to me this evening.

Jan. 25th. Saturday.

I got a general answer from Sir Everard Fawkener, that the Duke had said nothing in particular. My brother gave me an account of a conversation Mr. Winnington had with him on Thursday, vindicating Mr. Pelham from having any hand in turning him out of the Prince's family, assuring him that there was no design of throwing Scotland back into the hands of

the Duke of Argyle, and desiring him to give over his persecution of Mr. Pelham. My brother told him, as to the first, he did not value it; as to the second, he should believe it when he saw it; and that as long as they used Scotland ill, he would treat them as ill as he could; and that when they did right, he would support them as he had already done.

Jan. 27th. Monday.

Lord Westmorland came to see me to ask my advice about his affair of the money he paid for the grenadiers, and which he had not received on his dismission[1]. He said he had spoke to Pelham of it a fortnight before the King went abroad, and Pelham having spoke to the King of it, told him, the King said, he had no manner of right; that he said, he thought that should be examined. Pelham said, he had not thought of saying that. Now Lord Westmorland asked whether an application to the House of Lords, founded on the Petition of Right, might not be proper. I advised him first to write again to Mr. Pelham out of decency to the King, and insinuate, that he would not stop there, which he approved of; and next, that I thought in the House of Lords it would come in merely as a personal complaint, and therefore in the worst manner, whereas it would more easily slide into the House of Commons, where my brother

[1] John seventh Earl of Westmorland. He was deprived of his regiment for having connected himself in politics with the Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Cobham, not being permitted to sell it, although he had paid 8000*l.* for it.

had some thoughts of bringing in the subject of the army. To this my Lord agreed.

Feb. 9th. Sunday. My brother told me, that on the ministry insisting on Mr. Pitt being Secretary at War, and the King having said, he should not be his secretary, Lord Bath had gone to the King and told him, though he had resolved never to take a place, yet now finding his ministers would force a servant on him, rather than he should be so used, he would undertake to get him his money. The King said, the ministers had the Parliament. Lord Bath said, his Majesty had it, and not they; and that hereupon the King thanked him; and it was expected the ministers would all be out.

Feb. 10th. Monday. Lord Harrington and the Duke of Newcastle resigned.

Feb. 11th. Tuesday. Lord Cobham told me, Pitt's affair had been given up, he having in many pretty words, of which he had plenty, said, he would not go into the closet against the King's will; but that the resignation now was founded on the King's following other advice; that Lord Bath had affected to exult, and to shew his power, and that nothing could be had but through him; that after Pitt's affair Lord Harrington and Bath had had a conversation together, wherein the first had said, that he supposed the last had a plan for carrying on the King's affairs, since he interfered with his ministers, and made it impossible for them to serve; and that Lord Bath had said, he had none; and

that hereupon the ministers had resolved to resign, unless they might have the closet, without which they could not carry on the King's business; that he did not see where Lord Bath could set his foot, for Winnington had assured, that he would resign, too. He said, it was very true Lord Bath had stepped in upon Pitt's affair, and told the King he would undertake his business; that he had obstructed every thing, having always had the closet. I said, the contrary was true as to my country, to which these last ministers had wantonly declared themselves enemies. He said, they did not mean it. I told him, I judged by their actions, which tended all to throw us back into Walpole's system; and he knew, it was to get rid of that, we had joined the English opposition. He said, he had told 'em, they ought to consider the Duke of Argyle's personal enemies. I told him, we were not so,—at least, I was not; but I was an enemy to his engrossing every thing, or any man's doing it; that Pelham and the Chancellor both knew, I had flung myself at their head, when the King's service seemed to require it; but Pelham had thought, he had nothing to fear from any but Mr. Pitt, and so took upon him to use the Scots in a way, that could not be passed over, and thereby he catched a Tartar. He said, he told me only his part, and that this affair must produce some good. I said, it might have done so last year, but it was not so clear it would now, that all connection had been broke.

I went to court, where I saw Lord Granville, now Secretary of State. After the levee, it was told, that Lord Pembroke resigned his key; the Duke of Bedford notified his resignation, and all the admiralty but Lord Archibald Hamilton. Mr. Pelham resigned his seal, and notified the resignation of all at his board, but Lord Middlesex; and Lord Gower resigned his Privy Seal.

The Dukes of Grafton, Devonshire[1], and Richmond[2], and the Dukes of Argyle (who was at court,) and Montague[3], were named for resigning next day.

Feb. 12th. Wednesday.

Mr. Chetwynd[4] told me, that he had resigned, but that it was talked, that all was come round again, and Lord Bath had resigned.

Feb. 13th. Thursday.

Lord Bolingbroke told me, that Bath had resigned, and all was now over. He approved of what had been done, though he owned, that Walpole's faction had done what he had wrote, every king must expect, who nurses up a faction by governing by a party; and that it was a most indecent thing, and must render the King contemptible. He said, the law was to resign; and resignations would have held a fortnight. Lord Cobham told me, that the King had yesterday sent Winnington

[1] Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
[2] Master of the Horse.
[3] Master-General of the Ordnance.
[4] Made Master of the Mint in January 1745.

to stop the resignations; that he had offered Winnington the Seal of Exchequer, after Bath had resigned it; but Winnington said, it would not do; that Bath had sent a letter to Lord Carlisle, directed to him as Privy Seal, and had carried him to court, to receive the seal; but had gone in to the King, resigned the Exchequer Seal to him, and then sneaked down the back stair, leaving Lord Carlisle kicking his heels at the fire in the outer room. Lord Cobham got a letter to go to the Duke of Newcastle's at half an hour after two.

At court I met Lord Granville, who is still Secretary, but declared to be ready to resign, when the King pleases.

Feb. 14th. Friday. I saw Lord Granville go out of the closet, having resigned the seals; he met the Duke of Newcastle going in; and they made each other a dry bow, and passed on. A little after Lord Harrington came in, and then Lord Gower, and next Mr. Pelham. They remained in, except Lord Harrington, who went away.

Feb. 15th. Saturday. Lord Bolingbroke said, Lord Pembroke[1] had spoke very strongly to the King; and that when Lord Bath said to the King, he ought not to be forced, the King answered, 'You forced me first.' He said, Lord Bath was gone to Richmond, to write a pamphlet. Some other body said, the Duke of Bedford had told the King, 'We

[1] Groom of the Stole.

'are willing and able to serve your Majesty, if you 'will let us.' To which the King answered, that he had taken other measures.

Mr. Mallet told us, that he knew from Mr. Lyttelton, and Lord Bolingbroke vouched it, that the Prince had on Wednesday morning sent round Mr. Ayscough and others, to assure people, that he knew nothing of what was done, submitting only to the King; from whence it was concluded, he must then have known what followed that day. It was said, that now Lord Bath and Granville would be pushed at in Parliament.

Among those named to come in, I said, I was told, I was to have been half a secretary. Lady Bolingbroke said, she had heard it; but my Lord said, he had not; but with so much confusion in his looks, that I think he had heard it, and believed it. He owned, he had heard my brother was to have been solicitor. I said, Horace Walpole had told my brother so on Tuesday; and he had answered, he would not take it. On Thursday last, Mr. B. Leveson told me, that when he was at Lord Harrington's on Wednesday, my lord was sent for out; and when he came back he said, he had been told a very extraordinary piece of news; that the ministry had resigned; that Lord Baltimore, who was there, said, 'It is so,' and called Lord Harrington aside, repeating, 'It is so.'

Lord Westmorland came and desired my advice

on the motion to be made to-morrow in the House of Lords; he shewed me two, one very long and perplexed, by Lord Orford, who, he said, was to move it; and the other short and drawn by himself; this, I told him, I thought much best, and so added only a few explanatory words to it. He told me with great surprise, that Pitt was to succeed Winnington[1], and that Pelham had brought it about by proposing Sir William Yonge[2], and Pitt to succeed him. But the King said, that fellow should never come into his closet; whereupon Pelham named him as the first man in the House of Commons to succeed to the place then. Lord Westmorland told me, Lord Cobham talked of Pitt as a wrong-headed fellow, that he had no regard for; but added, that no weight was to be laid on that. I asked him, how to-morrow might affect his own private affair; he said, he did not value that; he said nothing had been done in it, though he heard it had been once mentioned at the Board of Treasury.

May 1st. Thursday.

[1] As Paymaster-General. [2] Secretary at War.

DIARY RESUMED.

I WAITED on Lord Chesterfield by appointment at nine o'clock. He received me with great civility and openness. He said, he was glad to see me, and in the way I was in. I told him, I had come up out of deference to what he had wrote to my brother. I thanked him for the regard he had shewed to my brother, and, I was told, he had expressed for me. After common compliments he said, that I must not remain in the situation[1] I was in, but it must be mended, and for this I must have an audience of the King. I said, I came in where I was, as receiving by my brother the price Mr. Pelham thought fit to offer him, and that if his lordship would allow me to inform him, that the Duke of Argyle had declared a determined enmity to my brother and me, and all our friends, I believed, he would think it no easy matter to mend my situation. He said, the King hated the Duke of Argyle; Mr. Pelham was the minister, who liked him best, not from affection, but the old habits of Walpole's time; and that the Duke of Newcastle was his enemy, except on the days that the Duke

1747. Aug. 30th, Sunday.

[1] That of First Lord of Police. See the Duke of Newcastle's Letter of 21st July, 1747, announcing to him his appointment.

of Argyle coaxed him, and treated him as the sole minister. He went through the Duke's conduct last winter here, and this summer in Scotland, and said, it was impossible it could hold long as it was, the King detesting him beyond all recovery. He then said, he would tell me all the state of affairs here that was conducive to mending my situation, (for in short I must not continue long in Lord Sutherland's place) and the means to be used for it. He went through all he had done last winter without appearing in it, to bring about Mr. Pelham's concluding with my brother. He said, the first opportunity he had of speaking to the King of my brother was, after he had spoke for the Jurisdiction Bill[1]; and that when I was named to succeed Lord Lothian, he spoke of me to the King, who said, I belonged to Bolingbroke; to which he replied, that he, Lord Chesterfield, might rather be said to belong to him, since he visited him as often as ever he could, and found no man understood his Majesty's foreign affairs so well, and could enable him so much to serve him. The King then said, I was able, but had been a writer. He answered, he thought his Majesty had laid aside all retrospect, but that others had been writers too, and that he knew nothing of that. He said, that I must go in to the King after I had kissed his hand, and that I should tell him of the state of Scotland in general, and that his Ma-

[1] The Bill for abolishing the Heritable Jurisdictions in Scotland, brought in on the 17th February, 1747.

jesty had [a] great many enemies there not sufficiently observed, and might mention Stuart's affair, whom the King looked upon to be screened by the Scots government, although there were facts enough to have hanged him, had he not been screened; but that I must not say anything personal against the Duke of Argyle, that I might not be accused of bringing an article of impeachment against him, the first time I went into the closet. I said, that I would be entirely directed by him; but I must offer to his consideration, whether it would be safe for me to mention the Jacobites in Scotland, as the King would tell the ministers, who would tell the Duke of Argyle, and he would write down a misrepresentation of it to injure me in my own country. He said, I must avoid that, but speak to the King, as I could do, with ability, and to humour the King's notions of things, which he was explaining to me, and that I must tell him, that I belonged to him only, for that was what he liked. I said, I had told the King so before, and we had parted very good friends; that the King hated complaints, and, he knew very well, was not a reasoning man. He said, that was true; but I should lament, that he had enemies in Scotland, and talk as he had told me would be agreeable. I asked what effect an audience would have, since the King left all to his ministers? He said, True, but it would make things go easy when the King liked a man instead of objecting to him; and it would enable my friends to

serve me. I said, I had no friends, unless he would do me the honour to let me reckon him so; that I should follow his directions in everything. He said, I must not think so, nor talk so; and that I must assure the King of my zeal, and of my readiness to do him any service in this part of the kingdom or the other. I said, as the King did not reason, what might be the effect of this? might not the King think, I was asking to be one of the peers in case of a vacancy? He said, that was now over, so he could not think so. I mentioned the case of a vacancy. He then said, that he meant I should ask it in general, without doing it in particular. I said, I supposed I must wait on the Duke of Newcastle, who had wrote to me about the place, and on Mr. Pelham, before I went to court; and whether I should say, I had seen him, and tell them of the audience intended, as they seemed very suspicious of audiences. He said, I should say, I had seen him, and that he bid me ask an audience. I asked, what I was to do, if they were against it, as people of as great quality as me had not taken audiences in such cases? He said, they could not be against it, for nobody of my rank kissed only hands in the crowd, unless they were ill with the King, and he would not see them, as had been his case, when he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

As he had bid me tell nobody, I asked his leave to tell my brother. He said, he had told him. I

then asked, if my brother had hinted what was his opinion. He said, 'No.' I then said, that though I would obey what his lordship ordered me, yet I must beg leave to mention the matter to my brother; which he agreed to. He then entered into the state of the court here, and said, that the King hated the people about him, but after having made a vain attempt to get rid of them, finding they had the Parliament, he was now resolved to be quiet, and let them do what they thought fit; and that when they differed, he bid 'em do what they thought best, as indeed he was not capable of deciding in any nice case, so that there was really no government at all; that, as it was very plain that we miscarried in war by mere inferiority of force, he and Mr. Pelham were for negociating to get peace; and the Duke of Newcastle was for war, without understanding the meaning of the word; that the Stadtholder too was for showing what he could do; and the Dutch proposed wonders, and to raise 45,000 men more, than they now had, next year; although they might as well raise as many millions, because they had not the finances; that the King was for war, unless when he frightened him, with showing that we were on the brink of ruin; and that the Duke of Newcastle was only for war to fall in with the King's humour, in hopes to be the first minister, and the favourite, now that Lord Harrington had ruined himself with the King; that Lord Harrington had been the favourite, had received great favours, such

as the troop of guards for his son, and the renewal of the term of Lord Stanhope's pension, and had been trusted with the electoral secret; that however he had been the warmest for resigning on the last change, and had desired to be first to resign, which the rest were very glad of; and that he had done it without the least regard to decency, telling the King, in the closet, that he could no longer serve him with honour, and flinging the purse and seals down upon the table, instead of delivering them into the King's hands, which had provoked the King beyond expression, and so as never to forgive him; the King having told him, Lord Chesterfield, that he had less reason to complain of the rest, whom he had found in office, and who had independent fortunes, than of Lord Harrington, whom he had made a peer, and given him an estate, &c.; that when the rest came in again, the King wanted to capitulate, and keep out Harrington, but the others could not desert the man, who had been the first in the measure; that however the King continued to treat him, whenever he came to him, with the greatest incivility, calling him to the Duke of Newcastle a rascal, as he called the Duke a fool to him (Harrington); that Lord Harrington on this talked of resigning, but still went on, in hopes that it would mend; that things were in this situation when he came from Ireland, where his conduct had quite softened the King to him, and particularly the letter he writ over here, whereby he put a stop

to Lord Kildare's regiment, and the other mob regiments, as he called them; and that whilst there all his recommendations had been like as many nominations, not one having been refused; that on his arrival here the Duke of Newcastle had spoke to him of being secretary, if Lord Harrington quitted, or was turned out; and that he had refused it, saying he would keep Ireland, as long as he was in place, for he liked it, as it just answered Lord Shrewsbury's description; it had business enough to keep a man awake, and not enough to hinder him from sleeping; that thus things went on till his great illness obliged him to go to Bath, from whence he returned the last day of October; that he was sent for to come to a meeting that very evening, but begged to be excused, for his absence for three months hindered his being *au fait des affaires;* that at that meeting Lord Harrington had said, that he neither could nor would stay in his office. His motive was, that Lord Sandwich [1] from the Hague carried on a private correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle; that saying this more firmly than usual alarmed the rest; and immediately the Duke of Newcastle, the Chancellor, and Mr. Pelham thought of making some compromise (for this, says Lord Chesterfield, we do in all business, *pousser le temps par l'épaule*); that they did not expect any sudden resolution from Lord Harrington, so Mr.

[1] The Earl of Sandwich went as ambassador to the Hague on the 3d August, 1746.

Pelham went next day to the Duke (of Cumberland) to get him to prevail on Lord Harrington to continue; that at that very time Mr. Pelham was with the Duke, Lord Harrington went to Kensington with papers to the King, who was then ill, having been cut for the piles; that as he had since his re-entry always been for peace, and thereby had had frequent differences with the King, he began an expostulation with his Majesty (but, he believed, rather to try if he could mend matters, than intending, when it came *au fait et au prendre,* to resign); that in this expostulation he told the King, he had grounds to suspect, that Lord Sandwich, though in his province, corresponded with the Duke of Newcastle; to which the King said, he did so; 'And 'why may not I correspond with my foreign minis-'ters through what channel I please?' Lord Harrington answered, 'Your Majesty then owns it to be 'so, which I only suspected before;' and then asked, 'Does your Majesty then think that I can 'continue to serve you with any honour?' The King replied, 'No, really, my Lord, I don't think 'you can;' and that Lord Harrington, finding himself thus drawn in, said, 'Sir, you will then give 'me leave to bring you the seals to-morrow;' which the King consented to; and Lord Harrington went away without telling any body; that after him the Duke of Newcastle went in with papers; and the King told him, that Lord Harrington had resigned. This surprised the Duke; and he asked the King,

who he thought of to succeed him. The King said, he thought it must be Chesterfield; and asked, if he would take them, for he was the fittest, if he was willing. The Duke said, he did not know at present; but that some time before he had found him unwilling. The King bid him ask him, for he thought, it must be Chesterfield; that the Duke, coming out, met in the antechamber Mr. Pelham, with the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lincoln, who was Lord in waiting, and some other; and in order, for some triumph over his brother, to pass as first minister, he just told them, Harrington had resigned, and the King had appointed Lord Chesterfield to succeed him; that Mr. Pelham said, 'Appointed, my Lord!' and that he thought it very odd, that should be done, and he should first hear of it in the antechamber; on which the Duke, to soften matters, said, upon his honour he had not mentioned him, but the King had named him himself. On this they talked with a good deal of warmth; that, whilst this passed, he, Lord Chesterfield, was coming to court with Lord Gower; that in the stone passage below, he met Lord Lincoln, who wished him joy of being appointed Secretary; that he answered, he did not know it, and thought it strange, he had not been asked about it before; that, when he came up stairs, he found the two brothers in a heat, and was told what had passed. The Duke of Newcastle pressed him to accept, being frightened lest on his refusal Lord Granville should be named;

that he desired that he might be allowed to the next day to turn himself round, and consider of it; that, when the Duke of Newcastle was gone, Mr. Pelham told him, that, in the manner this matter had been carried, he must accept, or else he could not continue in, for, if any other was put in, he must resign, as he could trust no other; that for this reason he did accept of the seals, but desired to go in to the King alone; that the next day he did go in to the King, who was still ill, and told his Majesty, that if he had given him leave, before he went to Ireland, he would have removed such impressions as his Majesty had received against him; that by this time he hoped many of 'em were removed; and that if his Majesty had any remaining, he was able and should be glad to remove these. The King said, that his naming him shewed he thought he would, and was able to serve him. Lord Chesterfield said, he must take the liberty to capitulate with his Majesty; that as he came in to serve his Majesty, and not himself, he desired, that whenever he found his service either not agreeable, or not useful to him, he might take the liberty to resign the seals, without it being taken for an affront or disgust at the particular time; to which the King answered, 'Then, take the 'seals, for I can believe *you*;' which expression the King has often repeated since with particular emphaticalness; that thus he came into this office[1], and

[1] The Earl of Chesterfield was appointed Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, in October, 1746.

continued in it with the satisfaction, that being well received in the closet gives, more than being ill received; but that no real business was done; there was no plan; and in differences of opinion, the King bid them do what they thought fit, and continued very indolent, saying, that it signified nothing, as his son, for whom he did not care a louse, was to succeed him, and would live long enough to ruin us all; so that there was no government at all. He said, we should talk over more at dinner.

Mr. Grevenkop[1] having told me, that great fault was found with my not sending a proxy to the election, after dinner I shewed Lord Chesterfield the Duke of Newcastle's letter, on my being named to the office, I had, and read my answer to it, and then told him, I thought it odd, that so immediately before an election I had no notice what was the list approved of by the ministry; and asked, if I should touch [on] that to the Duke of Newcastle. He said, by all means, for it had been the *cheval de bataille* of the Duke of Argyle against me. I said, my brother had doubted, whether in an audience the King might not propose something particular to me. He said, by no means, and that the King would keep in general. I then turned it from what I meant, of some foreign employment, and said, he might perhaps ask such particulars as required answers, that would affect the Duke of Argyle, which it

[1] Mr. Grevenkop was a Danish gentleman, who had been Page of honour to Alexander Lord Marchmont, during his embassy in Denmark, and who remained attached to his family.

might be imprudent in me to enter into. He said, the King would only ask in general, if Scotland was quiet, and such things as would let me in to say no more than I thought fit. He then offered to carry me to Kensington, and invited us to dine with him to-morrow.

August 31st. Monday.

General Huske, whose courage and conduct prevented the rout at Falkirk becoming total, and young Lord Huntingdon, dined with us at Lord Chesterfield's, where there was much talk of the Jacobites in Scotland; and I saw, Huske thought, the ministers there encouraged these people. He said, he foresaw Archibald Stewart would be brought off, and, he supposed, Sir James Stewart would soon come home, and we should see him in office there. I found, Lord Chesterfield was for schools and villages, to civilize the Highlands.

After dinner I told him, I was to see the Duke of Newcastle, and asked his advice. He said, the Duke would talk much of Scotland, and of his schemes of war abroad; that I should tell him, I knew only public facts; but that he did not see why I might not tell him (if he asked) what was the opinion of the King's friends in Scotland as to the manner of carrying on business there. He said, he had told Mr. Pelham of our being to wait of him; and that he would be glad to see us to-morrow.

We then entered into a long discussion about my going back to Scotland. He said, he thought no man of business of a certain character should be absent from the scene of business; but that there

was no crime in my going, if I were back again by the sitting of Parliament: however that, were he in my place, he would not go out of town. I said, then that decided it. He said, the place I was in was only leading to another; but that I must mean the character of a man of business, or mean nothing. I then asked, if I should see the Chancellor, when he came to town. He said, certainly; that he would ask many questions, as my brother knew, and that he hated the Duke of Argyle, who also abhorred him utterly. He then gave me leave to call on him in a morning, and said, he would be at Kensington to-morrow. He said, he had seen Mr. Pelham, and told him, we were to be with him this day, unless he had prevented us by telling, he was out of town, but were to wait on him to-morrow. Mr. Pelham said, he supposed, we were not pleased. He answered, no doubt; we were sensible of the opposition we had met with; but that it did not reach him.

Sept. 1st. Tuesday.

My brother and I went by appointment, between nine and ten, to the Duke of Newcastle's. Being called in, he received us with great civility, and many professions; which being returned, he said, he would tell us the foundation of all his politics, which was, that in Scotland those only who were attached to his Majesty's family should be employed, without regard to any other factions or divisions; but that this was impracticable, for now there was no government at all there; nothing was done; the Disarming Act and the Dress Act were neither of 'em

executed; indeed, part of this last had been suspended on the representations of General Huske; and that Lord Finlater[1] wrote to him, that the King's enemies were as numerous and open as ever, especially in the Highlands; and yet no notice was taken of them. I answered, that everybody believed from his zeal for the King's family, that that would be the foundation of his politics; but that I must add, we had better have no government at all in that country, than one founded on other principles; for though the King had many zealous friends there, yet he had too many determined enemies.

I then complained, that I had no intimation of the list of Peers. He told me, he had wrote cautiously, after communicating his letter to the Chancellor; and that the only person he had sent the list to was the Justice Clerk[2]. I said, I could not expect any notification of it from that quarter. He then said, George Drummond had taken the merit of Ker's election at Edinburgh, and that the solicitor, who was not easily imposed on, believed the Duke of Argyle had done all he could to serve Mr. Scot, who said, he lost his election for voting for the Jurisdiction Bill, and said, the Duke of Cumberland had sent over officers to vote against Scot, either not knowing what the ministers intended, or not liking Mr. Scot; that the only other election, he had interested himself in, was Mr. Mitchell, whom he thought fit, and an honest man; and he believed, he owed his election to the Duke of Argyle, who

[1] Vice-Admiral of Scotland. [2] Andrew Fletcher of Milton.

had made Sir Archibald Grant drop it. He said, he had wrote to the Advocate[1] about it. He said, Craigg had wrote up a paper, saying, that the Court of Session had adjudged so and so, very much reflecting on the Government; and that on inquiry to the Advocate, it was found not to be true. I said, every man must answer for his own actions; but it was certain, papers and debates had been in that Court, which Lord Arniston[2] took up as scandalous in any Court sitting under the King's authority. He said, he wondered the President[3] suffered it. I said, he certainly meant well, but might be hurried away by his love for the civil courts, and his aversion to the military, without considering the state of things; and that the King's enemies sounded high every little slip of the army, to throw dirt at the Duke, who had acted with great ability, and deserved the thanks of every friend the King had, as he had those of every one such in Scotland. He said, he would say a thing, which he ought not say to me, but he was a plain man: it was, that the list of peers being made up of all the parties in Scotland, without distinction of any, but as they were attached to the King's family, must shew, the ministers acted on that principle only. I said, that were there no man in it, but who was known to be under that predicament,

[1] Robert Craigie, Esq.

[2] Robert Dundas of Arniston, a Lord of Session.

[3] Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

it would certainly have had that effect. He seemed not to understand me, so I repeated it. He said then, he was sure they meant to have no others. He then spoke of Lord Morton, as one against the Jurisdiction Bill, and laughing, said, he knew Morton; he had oddities, and was very diverting. He then mentioned the want of a general there, and said, Albemarle[1] had done very well there. Word was brought, Mr. Bentinck[2] was there. He said, he hoped to see us sometimes, and that my brother had no opposition. I told him, all the people, who had any favours from the crown, had opposed him, as they had done every one through all Scotland, who had voted for the Jurisdiction Bill. He said, 'Really!' and added, that surprised him. The Duke of Newcastle said, the Justice Clerk had wrote, that he had offered to choose a Whig set of magistrates, to concert with the people in Edinburgh, who had opposed the present set; but they had rejected the offer, and would have all their own way. When I told him of being advised to ask an audience, he said, it was perfectly right, and that he was just going to suggest it to me. We went from thence to Mr. Pelham in Downing-street, who received us blushing, and very reservedly, but made us some compliments, and par-

[1] The Earl of Albemarle commanded the right wing of the King's army, at the battle of Culloden; and had the command of the forces in Scotland, when the Duke of Cumberland returned to England.

[2] Sent to England on a special mission by the Prince of Orange, and of whom farther mention is made.

ticularly to my brother, though he did not say one word of his election. He spoke of the English elections, particularly Middlesex, and then of Mr. Ker, for Edinburgh, who had wrote to him, representing Mr. Drummond as the fittest man for the being chosen, and himself as obscure. I said, Ker was a low man, but a Whig. He said, Oswald had been talked of, and seemed to think the Jacobite interest had been the cause of this election, and disappointing George Drummond, but the Whigs had carried it for another. I said, he would not find three Whigs in the council except George Drummond, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Ker. I told him of intending to ask an audience. He said, I had better put it off to another day, this being post-day. I said, would it not be most respectful to leave that to Lord Holderness[1]? He said, I had better delay it. I said, it was only to thank the King, and that the Duke of Newcastle bid me ask it as this day. 'O then,' says he, 'he knows best what business there is.' I then told him, I had complained of not knowing the list; that I could not expect it from the Justice Clerk, who had been too long in business not to have learnt artifice enough to avoid giving me notice of it, to injure me here. He blushed, and said, he would enter into no private altercations; but, if I meant it should be set right with the King, (I said, I did) that should be taken care of.

[1] The Earl of Holderness, a Lord of the Bedchamber, afterwards minister at the Hague, and Secretary of State.

After I was out of the room, he stopped my brother, to tell him, my warrant was signed at the Treasury.

We went to Kensington, where I kissed the King's hand.

As soon as the King went in, I was called in. I told his Majesty, that I had desired the honor of an audience to thank his Majesty for the honor he had done me, and to assure him, that in none of his dominions had he either a subject or a servant, that would with more zeal and readiness exert every talent he had in his service, and to promote his interest. The King saying nothing, I added, that I need not inform him, that my family had at all times been attached to his by principle; that I might have perhaps been mentioned to him heretofore in no advantageous light; that I therefore begged leave to assure him, that I had always held the same principles; and that in proof of it, I would remind his Majesty, that I had been the author, and my brother the proposer of the act to make it high treason to correspond with the Pretender's eldest son; that I hoped, his Majesty had seen the truth of what I had said, when I had last the honor to see him, by my brother's having in the last session of parliament done his part to serve him; and that his Majesty might have heard from Scotland, that I was the loudest in vindicating the conduct of his Royal Highness the Duke. He said, I knew that in these cases there was no pleasing every body; that some would find fault, because others were

pleased. I said, his Royal Highness had conducted himself with great ability; that all the complaints of the army were in themselves nothing, and, if I might use the expression, were yet less, when compared to the mischiefs done by the rebels; but it was the malice of his Majesty's enemies; for I was sorry to say, there were yet some such in that country, and particularly in the Highlands. He said, his son did not go there to please them; they naturally would be angry at him. I said, that country had infinite obligations to the Duke. I added, I should only farther assure his Majesty with truth, as I knew his character to be to love truth, that, independent of all factions, my attachment should be both out of principle and gratitude personally to him. He said, if I gave him my word, he should believe me. I told him, since he permitted the expression, I gave him my word of honour, that neither my brother nor I should ever deviate from the principle of supporting his person and government, and contributing all in our power to his service. His Majesty smiled, and then I withdrew. As soon as I came out, the Duke of Newcastle, as he was going in, made several signs and grimaces to me, as being glad I had been in. A little after Mr. Pelham introduced Mr. Bentinck[1],

[1] Count Bentinck, who was sent to England by the Prince of Orange on a special mission respecting the prosecution of the war. The Count was extremely sanguine in his views and calculations of co-operation on the part of Holland. The noble family to which he belonged was always zealously attached to the family of Orange, and in strenuous opposition to the French party in the republic.

who told me, Monsieur Fagel[1] had desired him to make his compliments to me and my brother.

Sept. 2d. Wednesday.

I went to Lord Chesterfield at nine o'clock, and told him what had passed yesterday at the Duke of Newcastle's, Mr. Pelham's, and with the King. He said, that Mr. Pelham meant me a kindness in what he said about the day of audience, for that on post-days, or, as they called them, long letter days, the King towards the end grew froward, and that therefore he had wished I might go in first; that now he would tell me what the King had said after my audience; that when they came in, the King said, Lord Marchmont had been with him; and he answered, he had seen me coming out. The King said, I had made him very strong professions (or assurances). On this the Duke of Newcastle said, what I had told him, why I was not at the Peers' election, not knowing the list; the King added, 'and not being one himself;' to which Lord Chesterfield said, it was very probable and natural to me not to vote for some in it, since I was not one myself. The King said, he found I was a very great friend of William's (meaning the Duke[2]). The Duke of Newcastle said, I had told him, that it was a mark of being a friend to the King in Scotland to speak well of the Duke, and for an enemy either to find fault with him, or to be silent. The King said, he

[1] The Greffier of the Republic of the United Provinces.

[2] Of Cumberland.

believed William had been rough with them; to which the Duke said, I had said the Duke had not done the tenth part of the harm to the King's enemies, that the rebels had done to the country. Lord Chesterfield said, he saw I was as well with the King as anybody; that sentimentally well with him, so as one man has an affection with another, nobody was; that he went on with his ministers, because he saw they had the superiority; that if he liked anybody, it was Lord Granville, who carried on his business agreeable to his views, and in the manner he liked; but that he had no support. He said, the King was resolved to be quiet, and bid 'em do what they thought best for their country; that he was an old man, and did not care how he left things to him, who was to succeed him. He bid me take care not to know what he had told me. He talked afterwards of the ministers doing just enough to disoblige the Duke of Argyle, and no more. He said, the Duke of Newcastle had told the King, I had said, that Ker chosen for Edinburgh was a Whig; and he said, the Duke of Argyle pretended he was forced to come into Sir Hew Dalrymple's election, to carry another, meaning Mr. Fletcher, for the boroughs. He desired me to call in upon him now and then of a morning. Grevenkop told me, Lord Chesterfield had told him, what the King had said of my making strong professions. I said, it was only giving my word for the oath of allegiance, which I had often taken as a justice of

the peace. He said, Lord Chesterfield had asked, how I was pleased with my audience; and he had said, very well; that he had spoke about sending me abroad; and Lord Chesterfield had said, that was quite over; he had indeed thought of it some months ago, but that it was now at an end.

Sept. 3d. Thursday.

Being invited to dine with Lord Chesterfield, he came in before dinner, and told me, he had been at court; but that there was no business done of public days, the King hating to be kept from the company in the drawing-room, where he made it a rule to speak to every woman that he knew. He said, there was no mail; but they heard the siege of Bergenopzoom went on, from one Stuart, a Scots merchant in Flushing, who was very active in sending intelligence, and had been so during the rebellion, for which he was named King's agent. He then entered into foreign affairs; said, we had no plan; but the Duke of Newcastle was for war, to get the King's favor, without which he could not exist; that it would stand us eleven millions and a half to go on next year; that the Stadtholder was for war, because those who had opposed him were for peace; and this reason he had dropt in a letter to him; that the Dutch proposed adding thirty thousand men next year; and we were in a negotiation with Muscovy, to take as many more between the Dutch and us; but he should be sorry, that all depended on them; for, beside the difficulty of

bringing them to Flanders, that court was quite frivolous, and there was no fixed government, the woman, who governed, not hearing her ministers,—sometimes because she was dancing, sometimes because she was praying; that Denmark was engaged for three years by a subsidy to France; but indeed he thought, by giving 'em more money, we might get some troops from them. I said, we had better make one effort, one campaign, than continue inferior. He said, we had, and were now evidently inferior; but still we were against peace; though, if we lost Bergenopzoom, fear might make the King listen to it, before another campaign; for the French had repeated their offer of peace, upon restoring all that had been taken. But the Duke of Newcastle was grown fond of Cape Breton, to obstruct it. I said, if the French were sincere, two Cape Bretons would be well sold at that price; but that I doubted. He said, Marshal Saxe had opened himself in confidence to Ligonier[1]; had told, he meant this; for that the King hated war, and he, Saxe, had the French against him; that now he was favourite, and thought, if he had peace, he could support himself;

[1] Sir John Ligonier, who fought with distinguished valour at the head of the infantry at Fontenoy, and who, commanding the cavalry, rendered the army the most important services at Roucoux, and at Lauffeldt, where he was taken. His capture led to overtures for peace made to him by Marshal Saxe, the result of which was an agreement to hold the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. He was of a noble Protestant family of Languedoc; and entering the British army at the age of fifteen, illustrated his career of military service by an uninterrupted series of chivalrous exploits. He was afterwards created an Earl, and made a Field Marshal and Commander-in-Chief.

that he had introduced discipline into their army; he had made as many enemies as he had made soldiers; and that, if we would make peace on this foundation, and a settlement for Don Philip, which should be no more than reasonable, we might have it; that Lord Sandwich[1] was gone to the army upon this proposal; but as he was entirely the Duke of Newcastle's, he did all he could to obstruct it; and the Duke of Newcastle, not being able to refuse it directly, did it indirectly by communicating it to the Dutch, the Empress, and the King of Sardinia, which the French complained of, as they considered us as the principal ally, and with whom things were to begin, though all meant to make no separate peace, but bring to a general one; that however no system was made, nor plan thought of; the King would be quiet, and there was no decision. I said, I was sorry for it, but that he must look forward; things could not continue as they were; and if we were to strip to the shirt, we must resolve in time, though I thought such a peace would be an honourable one, and good; and that the reasons, both ours and the Dutch, against it, were so absurd to one not used to those affairs, that I durst not pretend to say any thing to 'em. He said, some of their towns, like Menin, were dismantled, but would be so, if they took 'em back in war. I said, I wished we had such a peace, provided our ministers would

[1] Afterwards Ambassador at Aix-la-Chapelle; First Lord of the Admiralty under Lord North.

not do, as the English ministry had always done, think it the completion of all things, and look no farther, as if the day of judgment had put an end to all human affairs; but I much doubted Saxe being able to make such a peace, or to support himself by it. He said, he (Saxe) thought he could, with shewing *la modération du Roi,* who had given *le repos à l'Europe,* &c.; that, in a late council of war, all the French had been for raising the siege of Bergenopzoom; that Saxe had spoke last, and was against it, saying, the town would be taken, as he knew from Mons. Lowendahl[1]; and on that the King got up, putting an end to the council by saying, *Je suis de l'avis du Marechal.*

Sept. 13th. Sunday.

Lord Chesterfield said, that every man of sense talked as I did; that it was the King of Prussia's interest now to stop France; but that they, who saw the *dessous des cartes,* knew, that it was impossible to bring him to do it; that France flattered him in the grossest manner; no chaplain ever flattered an archbishop more; that they made him believe, they were entirely directed by him; and that, what was very surprising, he was their adviser to push on their successes, and had blamed them last year for not pushing on to the very heart of Holland, and signing a peace at the Hague; that this year France had desired him to offer a *médiation armée,* proposing an equitable

[1] A Dane much confided in by Marshal Saxe, who carried the town by storm, having surprised it.

peace, and declaring, he would join against the party refusing; that he answered, the French were fools; that he would not do it this year, that the maritime powers, and the House of Austria, might be more *épuisées;* but he would do it next campaign. Lord Chesterfield said, that all this he did [not] know problematically, but had seen it; that on the other hand the House of Austria and the Elector of Hanover could not be brought to talk with the least prudence or discretion to him; and that, from these motives, and old resentments, [the King of] Prussia was persuaded, he could not expect to keep, and to increase his power in Europe, but by their *abaissement;* that he had introduced a French system in the North, into which he was now endeavouring to engage Denmark, as he had done Sweden by a treaty lately made, whereby that country was fed by France, not only by a subsidy, but by pensions to every individual; and that Prussia would not let France be principal contracting parties to it, telling them, they should be invited to accede, and they had the real power by supporting the system with their subsidies, but they wanted to *briller*, which would render the treaty odious in the Empire; whereas now it would have the good effect of stopping the efforts that might be made by their enemy, Russia. Lord Chesterfield said, that the government of Russia was like our own, impotent and inefficient to that degree, that they were now laughed at in

Sweden; for that, though he had sent 'em weekly accounts of what was doing there, and desired they would only send 5000 men into Finland, or a few galleys to cruise on the coast, to frighten Sweden, they had only sent memorials, threatening the Swedes for joining the enemies of Russia, which, though at first they did alarm Sweden, were now so contemptible, that the Swedes were going on to destroy every one, who was not of the French faction, and to cut off the Senator Ackerhielm's head, who was the chief of the patriots there, without the least foundation. I said, this being the case, we must look for our resources at home. He said, though the government had not the same appearance, as in Scotland, where everybody saw there was none, yet there was as little here,—nothing was done; and, if any thing was proposed, it was answered, 'I am very busy just now; we shall talk of 'that another time;' that he had accounts from Carlisle, that the Jacobite party was very public there, and that the French prisoners were the best received of any people; that it was said, in a year they would be masters again; that they went out a shooting there, under pretence of moor-game, but in reality, to have meetings on the borders of Scotland, with people who met them there; that on this, and various other reports, he had said at a meeting they lately had, that he never had seen a time, when, if they could get a tolerable peace, it was more to be wished for; that they had no re-

sources from abroad adequate to the distress; and that, from the spirit and number of the Jacobite party, notwithstanding their having been crushed in the late rebellion, he was of opinion, they must be supported from abroad with the hopes of a greater force than had been as yet employed; that the Duke of Newcastle said, that he did not doubt, but there were imprudent Jacobites; but, that he could not believe that the crushing the last rebellion had made more Jacobites than there were before in Scotland, where their number was much diminished by the last rebellion, and that in England the people were well affected in general, as appeared by the election of this Parliament; for, said Lord Chesterfield, it is by this election of the Parliament we judge of every thing.

At Lord Chesterfield's, before dinner, Count Bentinck came in to take leave, setting out to-morrow for Holland. Lord Chesterfield and he fell into conversation, whether the French would attack Breda or Zealand. Count Bentinck thought, they would not do either, for that Chanclos would stop them before Breda. Lord Chesterfield said, he was too weak, and began reckoning our loss of battalions, among which, he said, were three Dutch cut off at Bergenopzoom; on this they fell into some heat, Bentinck denying it, and asking for particulars, and Lord Chesterfield saying, he did not indeed know their names, which seemed to pique Bentinck, whereby I saw, there was some deeper difference

between them in their opinions. Mr. Villiers[1] came in as Count Bentinck went away; and Lord Chesterfield told him, that Bentinck exactly resembled Lord Stair, who would allow no facts or reasoning against his own hopes and schemes.

Lord Chesterfield told us, Sir Charles Williams[2] had sent over, in twelve sheets of paper, a letter giving the characters of the court of Dresden, and, he believed, very exact; that Bruhl was represented as a frivolous trifling fellow, whose vanity was excessive, and was a bad man rather by accident than otherwise. Villiers said, he was the greatest criminal possible to his country, and that he and the King, with their expenses, had ruined[3] the richest electorate he had seen; that they were living on anticipation; and it would appear at the next Michaelmas Leipsic fair, whether they could go on or not; that our King expected payment of the money he had lent, at that fair; so it was worth Lord Chesterfield's curiosity to inquire after it.

[1] The Honourable Thomas Villiers, second son of William Earl of Jersey, who, after having held the missions of Dresden, Vienna, and Berlin, was created Earl of Clarendon.

[2] Then envoy at Dresden, and afterwards at Petersburgh, where he had a commission of an extremely delicate nature confided to him by George the Second, which probably led him to the intervention spoken of by Rulhiere, in which he certainly was disposed to act a more considerable part than that which he took upon himself, but with which he was obliged to content himself.

[3] This ruin had to be consummated by the occupation and systematic spoliation of the Electorate by the Prussians during the seven years' war, consequences of the policy of this same King-Elector, and of his prime minister. Peace, the fertility of its soil, the industry of the inhabitants, and the paternal rule of his successor, did wonders towards the restoration of that fine country.

Lord Chesterfield said, the King wanted back his capital; but, he believed, he would not get it. Villers said, the county of Mansfeldt was mortgaged for part of it, and that he knew the whole secret of that affair. Lord Chesterfield then mentioned the Treaty of Commerce[1] with the Emperor's hereditary dominions from Trieste as a good thing, but that it had some clogs, that made it impracticable, although the Empress now would not insist on perpetuating the drawbacks on Silesia linens; that Wassenaer[2] seemed to be very indifferent about it at this time; but that the merchants in the city approved much of it, and were ready to build houses, as the trade was to be carried on by our own officers, and in our own houses, without paying more than the ancient duties; but that some people were against trying new things; *we had done very well hitherto;* and why should we not go on in the same way? as if we could not do better. By this, I understood, Lord Chesterfield meant the Duke of Newcastle, or perhaps both him and his brother. Mr. Villiers said, Sir John Barnard had heard of this treaty; that it was a great stroke; and, though the court of Saxony seemed not sensible of it, it would go near to destroy the fair at Leipsic, which was already much

[1] Our first purely commercial treaty with Austria appears to be that of 1478, ratified by Maximilian in 1487; but of any such treaty as that which, it here appears, was made about this time, there seems to be no trace discoverable in our archives.

[2] This is the title of a Dutch noble family. It should seem, that M. de Wasner, the Imperial Envoy, was meant. This mistake has occurred before.

diminished, as well as that at Breslau, which was increasing, and probably would do so, as being nearer to those countries, such as Hungary, which brought money to carry off goods. They talked then of the Jews; and Lord Chesterfield said, the Empress, if one might say so, was much priest-ridden; that she had not only been inflexible to the maritime powers' application for the Jews[1], but when old Stahremberg, who is at the head of her finances, spoke in their favour, she fell into a passion, [and] bid him be silent, saying, she wondered he was not stopped by his regard to God and Jesus Christ, whom these people had crucified. Villiers said, Stahremberg too was reckoned to be a Jesuit.

14th Sept. Monday.

Mr. Grevenkop came in from having dined with Lord Chesterfield at Camden-house. He said, he came to tell me, that Lord Chesterfield would have me go to court to-morrow, and continue so to do sometimes, that the King might be used to my face; that, as Lord Chesterfield had wanted to know how I was with the King, he had been that day with Lady Yarmouth[2], who told him, the King had spoke very advantageously of me, and said, he believed I was his friend; that he had very few in Scotland; but he believed, I was one. Grevenkop then talked of Scotland, and bid me open myself upon it to Lord

[1] The liberation of the Austrian Jews from their heavy yoke was reserved for her son, the Emperor Joseph the Second, who did much to improve their civil and moral condition.

[2] The King's mistress.

Chesterfield, and amongst many questions, he said, one question must be a dead secret between ourselves, and that was, what should I think, were the Duke to go down thither for six weeks in the winter? I said, it would have a very good effect, unless they sent him down accompanied by his young aides-de-camp, to offend people, and to debauch parsons' daughters, to alienate as good friends as any the King had; and unless it was so much against the Duke's inclination as to make him averse to that country, besides the offence it might give the Prince[1].

Sept. 16th. Wednesday.

After dinner Lord Chesterfield pulled out a paper, and desired me to look at it. He said, it was founded on the present state of their negociations, which were a continuation of what the late Pensionary[2] had carried

[1] Natural affection and common interests might probably have prevented the existence of the unfortunate jealousies and differences which prevailed in the Royal family—at any rate would have hindered their assuming a serious shape, or being prolonged, had it not been for the interference of selfish or impassioned counsellors, who could irritate and inflame on both sides with impunity, under the plea of public duty; whilst the intermeddler in the disunions of a private family must take care to act covertly, and with much circumspection, if he would escape the loud and bitter censures of the world.

Mr. Coxe fairly avows his decided disapprobation of the harsh and criminating tone of the King's message to the Prince of Wales, when the overt breach took place between the father and the son, in which Sir Robert Walpole gave vent to his own angry and resentful feelings, regardless of the wise and moderate suggestions of Lord Hardwicke; and these papers, in the following volume, bear but too full evidence to the persevering efforts of members of the opposition in raising impediments to reconciliation.

[2] Of Holland. Each province of the United Netherlands had a Pensionary; but the province of Holland paid so large a share of the burdens of the State, and had such a preponderance in wealth and population, that her Pensionary was, in fact, the Prime Minister of the Republic.

on; that Mons. de Saxe had proposed in general a treaty, to be carried on by the French King and the Duke, and wherein he and Ligonier could treat *plus galamment* than professed ministers, whereby all should be restored on both sides, a settlement got for Don Philip, in which Spain should be made reasonable, and the Genoese restored. Sir John Ligonier said, he would report what passed to the Duke. Whereupon, Mons. de Saxe gave him a paper. This overture was thought too general in England; and therefore it was proposed, that the King should send a minister to the army, to communicate with the French. On this the French sent Mons. Puisieux[1] to Liege, who dined there with Lord Sandwich[2], and proposed to him in particular, as the ultimatum of France, a mutual restitution of all taken on each side; a reasonable establishment for Don Philip; that the Genoese should be restored; as also the Duke of Modena; and that the French should be at liberty to fortify Dunkirk on the land side, or else to keep Furnes as it now is; and that the outlines of a peace should be agreed between Britain and France in the first place, as the two principal powers. Lord Sandwich was ordered to take no step without concerting with the allies, so that he proposed opening conferences to

[1] He had been French plenipotentiary at the conference at Breda in 1746, and had become minister for Foreign Affairs.

[2] Then ambassador at the Hague.

treat. To this Mons. Puisieux[1] consented, and said, the King would name a minister, but that this method would render the treaty more difficult. Lord Chesterfield said, it was the very design of taking this method, as none of our allies are for a peace, the Empress wanting more to get some of what has been given to the King of Sardinia; this King wanting all the Riviera de Ponente; the Prince of Orange thinking war proper to increase his authority; and the Duke of Newcastle being the only man in our cabinet who talks always for war[1]; that Puisieux in the conferences reckoned restoring Cape Breton a *sine quâ non;* and, on Lord Sandwich's saying, it was not quite so, but to be treated of, he answered, we might keep it, and they would keep Flanders.

The paper was, heads of a treaty founded on those proposed as the ultimatum of France by Maréchal Saxe to Sir John Ligonier:—1. That France should for ever renounce the Pretender, and his posterity, and guarantee the Protestant succession. This is occasioned by Puisieux making this distinction between the Pretender and his posterity, and saying, if they did renounce his posterity, they must have something for it. 2. A mutual res-

[1] It appears from Mr. Pelham's letters, that he thought that more might and ought to have been made of this overture than was done. His account of what was passing on it in the Cabinet shews, how lamentably great was the want there of a first minister effective through talents, energy, and consideration.

titution of all conquests during the war. 3. France to fortify Dunkirk on the land side, putting [it] on the sea side in the state it ought to be by the treaties of Utrecht and 1717; or else to put it in this state in all respects, and to keep Furnes. 4. The dispute about the enclaves of Hainault to be referred to commissaries, and the King of England to use his good offices with both sides. 5. The duchies of Parma, Mirandola, and Guastalla to be erected into a kingdom for Don Philip; to return to the present possessors, in case Don Philip does succeed to Naples; or else, Parma and Placentia to be made into a kingdom for him on the same conditions. It is noted, that in the first case it would all come off the Empress, who has but a bad title to Mirandola, having bought it since the peace of Utrecht, and to Guastalla, the true heir being now alive. In the second, it would come partly off the King of Sardinia; and that Savoy, lying on this side of the Alps, would be most proper for Don Philip. 6. That the Duke of Modena shall be restored. 7. That the Genoese shall be restored to all except Final, to be left to the King of Sardinia. 8. No indemnification to be demanded for any thing done in the war. What relates to Spain was referred to the particular plan for that treaty.

Lord Chesterfield told me, there had been a private negotiation with Spain, by means of Mons. Maccanas[1]; that Spain was now become Spain; was

[1] M. Maccanas was sent to Breda during the Conferences of 1746, as a pri-

willing to treat without France, being governed by the present Queen on Spanish principles; but insisted on a settlement, however small, for Don Philip, to prevent his returning to nose the King and Queen, and head the French party, the Queen Dowager having no more influence; as also on an equitable treaty for the West Indies, whereby our ships should steer such a course as might prevent smuggling; and on the restitution of Gibraltar; and that Maccanas, for having postponed this article, was disavowed, and ordered to Huy, to wait the orders of his court; that the King of Sardinia might make a separate peace, having signed one with France in 1745, whereby they were to conquer with their joint forces part of the Milanese; but Spain broke it, insisting for better terms for Don Philip; that the King was either for war or peace, as his hopes or fears were raised; that the Duke was rather for peace, as he found himself constantly disappointed in his own numbers, and the French always complete; that no suspension of arms had been offered on either side, or would be accepted by France; and that the conferences would not open this month yet. I said, in this way, I much feared, we should not get a peace; that I should wish Don Philip rather had Sardinia and Corsica, than anything on the continent of Italy; and that

vate agent of the Spanish government. He had been sent by it to Cambray during the Congress there in 1725. He was a man of science, and was persecuted by the Inquisition in Alberoni's time, for having written a paper against the power of the Court of Rome.

what was proposed there for him might be divided between Sardinia, and Genoa, and Porto Longone, &c. given to Tuscany, to leave Spain no footing in the upper part of Italy; but that the stipulation for our trade in America should go hand in hand with this. Lord Chesterfield said, that was to be regulated by the treaty of 1670. I said, I feared, that would not be sufficient, nor answer the address of Parliament in 1739. He said, Cape Breton had now sunk in every one's opinion, and was thought useless, even to the French, for they now fished with us, there being more fish than we had hands to take; that the Duke of Bedford now wished it demolished; that Knowles[1] represented it as a place not tenable, as did Colonel Warburton; that the garrison of 3000 was melted down to 1600; that the Duke of Bedford governed the Admiralty absolutely, was very obstinate, and would not be spoke to; and that the ministers knew no more of what was doing there, than I now did. He said, he did not expect a peace, and thought us on the brink of ruin; that he thought in another campaign it might be best to have an army of 40,000 men on the Moselle with [a] great many irregulars to ravage Lorraine, and make a diversion there, and keep on the defensive in the Low Countries; that he reckoned, we might have next year of Dutch 50,000, though they reckoned double the number, and had now a footing of 90,000; of our own

[1] The Admiral.

45,000; and of Austrians 45,000; which made 140,000 men; and that, though he would not wish our safety to depend on it, we might perhaps have 30,000 Russians; that he was for a floating force of 5000 or 6000 men on the western coast of France, for it was inconceivable how much our silly attempt of last year[1] had alarmed 'em; the Chevalier de St. George[2], taken by Anson, having told him, that as they imagined our force much greater than it was, had we threatened and hurried 'em at first without giving 'em time to learn our weakness from deserters, we had taken them with five millions of effects six ships, and all the stores of the East India Company, which must have been ruined. He said, the Empress undervalued Flanders, and said it brought her in nothing, but cost her much in garrisons.

Sept. 17th. Thursday.

At Lord Chesterfield's at dinner: Lord Gower told us, that the spirit of disaffection was very great in the north-west counties; that they had frequent meetings; that at Shrewsbury they called the King an usurper, and in general were very bold and given to mobbing. Lord Chesterfield told, that Cronstrom[3] was a great lover of money and a *boutefeu*, but a great pen and

[1] The expedition under Admiral Lestock and General Sinclair, which in 1746 made a fruitless attempt on Port L'Orient, the naval arsenal of the French East India Company.

[2] Who commanded that part of the French squadron defeated and taken by Lord Anson in 1747, which was destined to India.

[3] Governor of Bergenopzoom, who lost that town.

ink man, and always bustling; that when he was at the Hague, Cronstrom and Ginckel[1] refused to serve under Prince Waldeck[2], and that he[3] had told Prince Waldeck to make no steps towards them, as he would be better without 'em both, Ginckel, Lord Chesterfield said, being bashful; but that Cronstrom got in so well with Prince Waldeck, that he took him, and soon in the campaign Prince Waldeck found him out, and they quarrelled; and it was on the Prince of Orange giving Cronstrom the command in the lines, to which Prince Waldeck went with the last Dutch detachment, that this Prince resigned his command; that it was owing to a pique the Prince of Orange had at Prince Waldeck, who had taken his commission from the republican party, who meant by it to obstruct the Prince of Orange's advancing. He told us, that General Keith[4] had been introduced by Mr. Tittley[5] in Denmark, and had told the Queen[6], that it was to shew he meant to be seen by her as a faithful subject of her father's; that Tittley wrote to him too that Keith said, he was of opinion Bergenopzoom could not be taken, as it was not invested. He added, that Keith was come to Holland on his way

[1] Both Generals in the Dutch army.

[2] Prince Waldeck commanded the Dutch at Fontenoy and until he retired from the army, during the siege of Bergenopzoom.

[3] When Ambassador there.

[4] Brother to the Earl Marshal. He served with distinction in Russia, and died a Field-Marshal in the Prussian army, fighting heroically at Hochkirch.

[5] British Minister at Copenhagen.

[6] The Queen of Denmark was the youngest daughter of George the Second.

over hither, but was gone out of curiosity to see the army, and said, he was coming over to spend his days in Scotland, his native country. I said, the King would save money by giving him a pension, or employing him here to keep him out of Scotland, where he had nothing to do, and no estate to live on, and must be surrounded with Jacobites, and might be a terrible centre of union for them. Lord Chesterfield said, he suspected this going to Scotland very much, but did not see how it could be helped. He told us, Cronstrom had lost every thing, and all his papers, though a friend to a gentleman, who wrote to him, had saved every thing from the same house, two hours before the alarm became general; and that Lowendahl (immediately made a Maréchal) had since wrote to Cronstrom, that he had buried 1200[1], and taken 1800 prisoners, among whom were 150 officers.

Sir Luke Schaub told me, the Prince would be in town on Sunday, and had wished much to have me employed abroad, at Vienna particularly, where we wanted a man of weight; that Robinson[2] *faisait le capable, et l'important,* but was incapable, and had his head as confused as his master Horace Walpole; that he was a brouillon, *et brouilloit les affaires,* and besides was a humourist; that at first he was more an Aus-

Sept. 18th. Friday.

[1] The Scots Brigade in the Dutch service suffered here dreadfully.

[2] Sir Thomas Robinson, minister at Vienna, afterwards Secretary of State, and created Lord Grantham in 1761.

trian than any of the ministry at Vienna, admired the Empress, and executed his orders *fort mollement;* but that, after many reprimands and orders, he now went even to invectives, insomuch, that he has seen in letters to Wassenaer[1] that the Empress came out from audiences given to him *se fondant en larmes;* that she was obliged to endure what he said; and that the next day he would be as soft again as ever, just as his head turned; that this was not the way at Vienna; *qu'il falloit être soutenu à Vienne,* but not shew any want of the necessary regards; that Villette[2] at Turin was a man of sense, but so much given to that court, and held so at Vienna, that nothing that came from him was believed there; and Robinson was held at Turin to be so much attached to Vienna, that nothing he wrote was believed there, so that the necessary correspondence between these two was useless. One Sturm, a Swiss from Berne, came in, and said, the Dutch had asked the 4000 men that canton was to furnish by treaty, and perhaps might ask the money Berne owed them by the same treaty. Sir Luke said, they had asked to raise a battalion in the canton of Schaffhausen, which had been granted to them, and perhaps more might be asked in concert with Burnaby[3], to whom, Sturm said, orders of this kind were sent.

The Duke of Newcastle at Kensington took me up to the fire, and talked a great deal in generals

[1] M. de Wasner, see p. 206. [2] A Swiss; afterwards minister in Switzerland.
[3] British Minister to the Swiss cantons.

about Scotland, and wanting my advice. I told him whenever he did, I would give it him frankly and honestly, but unasked would not meddle, as I knew it would be said to be done with some view against the Duke of Argyle, who would treat me, as I had been at the cabinet council about the regiments; and I should be just as ill supported. He said, he hoped to see me sometimes.

Sept. 24th. Thursday.

I went to Lord Chesterfield, and told him what had passed with the Duke of Newcastle, and desired him to assure Mr. Pelham, if I did not trouble him, it was only for the reasons I had given to his brother.

Sept. 25th. Friday.

My brother told me, he had been with Mr. Pelham, to desire to know, whether he would support his interest in the county, and had proposed Mr. Pringle to succeed to Mr. Douglas of Cavers's place; that Mr. Pelham had assured him, he would support his interest; and, as to the other, he could not promise, till he had had one conversation with the Duke of Argyle. My brother and I went to the Duke of Newcastle, and dined with Lord Chesterfield, who after dinner talked of Mr. Pitt as one most extravagantly proud, and who meant to distinguish himself as leader of the party of Grenvilles and Lyttelton. We told him what had passed with Mr. Pelham; and he told us, Mr. Pelham was in a very distressed state, being obliged to defend measures he disapproved, and

Oct. 21st. Wednesday.

forced by his brother to ask all disagreeable things of the King; for the Duke lived by the smiles in the closet, and would ask nothing, that was disliked there. He said, he did not know where the government lived; that there was none; they met indeed, and talked, and then said, 'Lord! it is 'late; when shall we meet to talk over this again?' and that the King was quite insensible, and would do nothing, saying it was their business,—it was all one to him who was to succeed; perhaps one might be as good as the other.

Oct. 22d. Thursday.

I went to Mr. Pelham, to prevent his having the trouble of coming to me. I told him, I did so, as he had other things to do. He told me, he had wrote strongly, but in a friendly way, to people in Scotland. I told him, I rejoiced at it, and hoped they would go on. He said, they could do no more at this time. I told him, I should have troubled him before, but as I knew in what light I was seen here, as an enemy to the Duke of Argyle, I was determined to avoid meddling, and would continue so, unless I was asked, or in what concerned the county my brother serves for, and my own relations. He entered into a long discourse, of not breaking with the Duke of Argyle, of not offending, but carrying things by softness, and not by conquest. I approved of all he said, saying, none of the King's friends desired other than to receive a share of the King's favor, without asking the Duke of Argyle's permission;

had, as to myself, far from wishing him to quarrel with the Duke, I wished the Duke's interest to be prevalent, wherever the Duke had an interest as a subject, but not where he could have none but as a tyrant; that I knew the foot he had been on in Sir Robert Walpole's time, and must foretell him, that he would never find the Duke cordial with them, if even a churchwarden was named in Scotland by any but himself; and if my brother's interest was not to be promoted without his consent, it would not be done; and as he and I had been the first to list with the present ministry, we should be disgraced as dupes; but the King's interest would suffer; that, as to the general, if they did not act right, I should lament it, but should do my part; for my only concern was in the county my brother represented. He said, he would talk thoroughly to the Duke; that I did not suppose, the Duke would tell him, my brother's interest must not be supported; for then he would say, I ought not to have been taken into the King's service, which the Duke had approved. I said, 'Yes;' but he had however wrote down the letter of refusal of letting me have the Register's place for the Marquis of Lothian, by the very messenger that brought the offer of it. At this he looked very much surprised, and went on: 'If the 'Duke approves of the principle, but tries to obstruct 'it in the execution, I must be a dupe; I don't mean 'as a reflection,' says he, 'but that I am on my 'guard;' that he would not prophesy, but this must

reasonably be the way, and I must think so, were it my own case, and should think it hard, were I not spoke to, because it was said, Lord Marchmont is at bottom an aspiring young man, and very ambitious. Yes, says I, and has a nose upon his face, for that may be urged as an objection fully as much to the purpose. He went on, 'And wants to govern all, as 'his grandfather did.' 'My grandfather, Sir!' says I. 'Yes,' says he; 'was he not King William's 'minister?' 'No, Sir,' said I; 'he was his favour-'ite and friend, and confident, but was too much ob-'structed ever to get the King's promise executed 'of paying the debts his forfeiture created. But, 'Sir,' says I, 'I agree, you should deal softly with 'the Duke.' He then mentioned his abilities, family, and long experience, which made him superior to every body. I said, to cut up all this by the roots, 'Sir, let the Duke be the King's friend, rest within 'the bounds of a subject, and not oppose my brother, 'and he, Mr. Pelham, should not bid me shew any 'respect to the Duke of Argyle, that I would refuse;' only if the Duke of Cumberland and Argyle should have any dispute, Mr. Pelham could not doubt which side I should take. I told [him] as to ambition, I gave him leave to call me a villain, whenever he found me asking Scots power, beyond what I had told him of my brother and relations; and that I should not meddle but when asked, and then should always not only tell him the truth, but the whole

truth. I then asked, that Mr. Nimmo[1] might enjoy his whole salary, and told him who was quartered upon him, and how it was done. He told me, he knew nothing of it; that he had always condemned all these things; that he desired Mr. Nimmo might enjoy the whole; that, as to what engagements he was under to the person concerned, he knew best himself. [I said], that all I wanted was, that he might be safe from any act of power. He said, he certainly should as long as he was in; and desired, I would write him word, that he had granted it before he knew who was quartered on him. This was, no doubt, on account of Lord Tweeddale with the King. I thanked him, repeated what I had said about the ambition charged to me, and of my brother's interest, which, he said, should be protected, for so long as Mr. Hume concurred with the King's measures, his interest was the King's interest.

Oct. 27th. Tuesday.

Lord Chesterfield told me, there was as yet no speech; that they had put it to the Chancellor, who had desired to know, what he was to say; that he saw he could not please them all three, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pelham; and therefore desired hints, which as yet were not given him; that the Chancellor, though in opinion with Mr. Pelham and Lord Chesterfield, yet would not

[1] Receiver-General of the Excise in Scotland; brother-in-law to Lord Marchmont, having married his sister, Lady Jane Hume, in 1743.

give up his power over the Duke of Newcastle for the remaining power; but, in order to govern the Duke in every thing else, he went along with him in the main point, whereby he likewise secured many preferments into his own family; that Mr. Pelham[1] and the Duke now conversed only through Mr. Stone, being apt to fall into a passion when they conversed together; that they would surely break, if Mr. Pelham did not think it would be the ruin of them both; that Mr. Pelham's only concern was, that he might not be personally attacked in the House of Commons; and that, provided he was not made the object there, he was easy. For this end, Pitt, and the Lytteltons and Grenvilles must have every thing they asked, and now held half the places in the King's gift; and then the old set, who hated these, came and asked, when there would be no more Lytteltons and Grenvilles to be pleased, that they might have room for something, which made him uneasy on the other hand; that as to Scotland, his view was to obtain of the Duke of Argyle by fair means, what Lord Marchmont, Lord Morton, and Lord Finlater wanted to have by offending the Duke. I said, for my part I should advise against offending the Duke, provided the same thing was done; but I saw, that Mr. Pelham

[1] A difference between them broke out, and was appeased in the year following through the mediation of the Chancellor and Mr. Stone. But Mr. Pelham informed Lord Marchmont distinctly on the degree of habitual intercourse existing between him and the Duke of Newcastle.—See *Diary*, January 29th, 1748.

durst not stir one step in Scots matters without the Duke, and would be imposed on by him. He said, he had the same opinion of the Duke that we had, and that the King had a most mortal hatred to him, worse than to any man in his dominions; and that I had affection for the Duke in comparison of the King. He said, Lord Granville had had no communication with the King, except in public at the levee, for this twelvemonth, and that his notions about foreign affairs were insinuated to the King by Ned Finch[1], who, being of the King's play-parties, when the King was cut out talked with him in a corner of the room; that this he knew from Lady Yarmouth, with whose fidelity and frankness to him he was perfectly satisfied; that he had asked her, whether the King's saying to him, that he could do nothing, was only *par manière d'acquit*, or that the King really believed he had no power. She said, he really did believe it, since they all deserted him; and that he said, he saw there was a connexion that would govern him; that he said in answer, that quitting was not a thing to be tried every year, and that the King might safely put them to it, and was King, if he had a mind to be so; and she answered, that the King thought so too, but did not know what the occasions were on which they would not quit; that she had told him, the King bid her ask him, whether he would have

[1] Brother to the Earl of Winchelsea. He had been minister at various courts; and in 1742 was made a Groom of the Bedchamber.

quitted when they all did, as they said they had his demission in their pockets; that he said, he would answer differently from what others had done since, for that he would have quitted on a point of honor, since those, he had joined with, and his friends quitted; but when he had satisfied the point of honor, he would not have opposed the King's measures, but have supported them without taking money for it. He said, the King had acquired a good deal of dissimulation; that he smiled on the Duke of Newcastle sometimes to make him do things, and then laughed at him for the effects of those smiles; that, indeed, he hardly knew the gentleman again; that he was not presumptuous, and therefore did not love to be reasoned with, lest he should be discovered, that he could not reason; and that for this reason, whenever one spoke to him, it was the first period that made all the impression, and he stuck there; that he would tell me an anecdote,—that as he wanted a Colonel's rank for George Stanhope[1], he asked Lady Yarmouth, whether he or she should speak about it; that she said, she would, lest the King should refuse, and think himself bound down by a refusal to him, for the King had heard and remembered all George Stanhope had said about the campaign of Dettingen[2]; that some time after she told him, the

[1] A cousin of Lord Chesterfield's; he was the next brother to the Earl Stanhope of that day.

[2] He was Lieutenant-Colonel of Duroure's regiment in that battle.

thing was ripe for him to speak; that he did tell the King, he hoped he would give a young fellow a Colonel's rank, who had seen more business than many who had it, and was very good food for powder. The King looked into his book and said, there were many before him; to which he answered, that if it had been his due, he would not have asked it, knowing the King would do him justice. The King said, he must stop somewhere. He said, 'after George Stanhope, if he pleased,' and turned the conversation to prevent a refusal; that some time after he desired Fox, the Secretary at War, to ask the King, if he would not fill up his aide-de-camps, and to tell him, that he found nothing could be more agreeable to Lord Chesterfield than making George Stanhope one of 'em; that on Fox's doing so, the King refused it, and Fox told him, when he came out, that he fancied he had made him speak at a wrong time; that on telling this to Lady Yarmouth she was surprised, and said, he should write a letter to the Duke to recommend Stanhope; that he told her he would take no roundabout way, and desired her to tell the King so; that, since he had not interest enough to get it directly, he would never take any other method; that Lord Harrington had got the best regiment, the King had, for his son; and since he could not get one for an older officer, his relation, he knew what he had to do, but should never ask it in any other way; that on her telling the King so, the next time Fox went in, the King

told him, there were four regiments vacant; Lord George Beauclerk must have one, and Lieutenant-Colonel Stanhope another; and he must write to Napper, the Duke's officer, to inquire who were talked of as best for the other two; that some time after, when Fox went in, he shewed him the names of some Lieutenant-Colonels, saying, for the other two his Majesty had named them. The King said, he had never heard so much about any body as about Colonel Stanhope; that when he told this to Lady Yarmouth, she held up both her hands in astonishment. Lord Gower came in to Lord Chesterfield, and I went away.

Nov. 15th. Sunday. The Prince of Wales at his drawing-room asked me after my brother; said, he heard there was to be a petition against him; and that little else was to be done this year in the House of Commons; that he thought, they had better put a short question, to turn out the Prince of Wales's servants. I said, that would be a bold one. He said, that Sir Luke Schaub had said to somebody, who alleged France would not do something, '*Mais pourquoi pas? Ils ont déjà fait* '*fait de mal!*' but added, laughing, 'I don't ap- 'ply it.' I said, I should be very sorry to see it applied to this parliament, who, I hoped, were so much attached to the Royal family as not to widen differences. He said, they were resolved to turn out Drax[1], who had a very good cause, and men-

[1] Member for Wareham.

tioned some particulars of it. [He] then said, he had the greatest regard always for me, and had wished me in before, but in business; however, he was glad I was in. I thanked him, and said, I came in now out of deference to the opinion of others. He said, he had always wished it, and would always wish me and my brother well; that he knew his parts, and would have done anything by way of advancement, addition, or otherwise, to have made him belong to himself. But as he had attached himself to those, who were at variance with his friends, he [the Prince] was obliged to do what he had done; but he had delayed it for two years, till he could do so no longer. However, that he never had lost him quite out of sight, adding, every now and then, 'You understand me.' I thanked him for mentioning this matter to me, as it gave me an occasion I had much wanted, to assure his Royal Highness, that nothing had ever given me more pain than my brother's being removed from his service; and that, notwithstanding any indiscretion of my brother's might have given him offence, yet I could assure him with truth, that, whether in favour or out, he had not anywhere, nor had the King, any subjects or servants more ready to sacrifice everything in support of the interest of the Royal family, and the present establishment. That he knew enough of this country to know people were sincere in their own interest; that attachment to his family was my brother's and mine, for we had

in the most violent opposition never looked anywhere else, as was very evident from my brother's proposing the making it treason to correspond with the Pretender's son; and that even in the opposition, had I seen then what I now saw, I would have spit my tongue out, before I would have voted against the army. He said, 'I am for economy.' I said, I thought our present establishment was not to be weighed in the scales with shillings and pence; and we saw the last rebellion had wasted many years' savings. He said, 'Are you for more 'than fourteen thousand in time of peace?' I said, for whatever was necessary to secure the establishment, which had too many enemies. He asked, 'Do you really think so?' I said, I did. He added, 'You have a motley administration in Scot-'land.' I said, I knew not how it was; but the King was ill served there. He said, 'He is so; but the 'Jacobites have had all the encouragement there, 'and the ministers there, these people, have never 'been my friends; you understand me.' I said[1], that though the Jacobites were too numerous there, yet the King had great numbers of as zealous subjects as anywhere, esp(ially in the South, as I knew from inquiries I had made, to see what effect our proposal would have had. He said, he had

[1] This Diary having made mention of proceedings against Mr. Stuart, late Provost of Edinburgh, charged with complicity with the rebels, it should be stated that in the preceding month he was acquitted by an unanimous verdict of a very respectable jury.

approved of that proposal. I said, we were very happy in that, for the King had approved it also. He said, 'Yes;' but many things were done against the King's opinion. I said, I was very sorry for it. He said, he did not meddle in what had passed before I went to Scotland; that he had seen too much of the inside, not to draw himself out of it immediately; that there was knavery on one side, and folly on the other. I said, that should not have been, where the master's honour was at stake. He said, the man, that was an able man, was not in the secret; and the other had been surprised by the things coming so soon upon him; and that, though there were many odd men in this country, a ministry was not to be found by calling out *Odd man*[1]!

My brother told me he had been at Mr. Pelham's on Friday night about the address; that the Board of Treasury, the Commons of the Admiralty, some of the Board of Trade, Horace Walpole, Dorrington, the Speaker[2], and Mr. West[3], had been there; that Mr. Pelham had been extremely civil to him, and after that, and not till then, most of the others had taken notice of him; that, on reading the motion, he had asked if the word *expectations* in it was

[1] An illustration drawn from the practice of hackney chairmen. If, when a chair was called, one of the partners was absent, the one present cried out, 'Odd man!' to procure the aid of some other chairman, who might have happened to be also without a partner.

[2] The Speaker was Arthur Onslow.

[3] Member for St. Albans.

not too strong relating to the negociation for peace; that nobody finding another word, it had been proposed to leave out the whole sentence; but he objected to that, as nothing else was said of peace; and he thought peace too necessary for this nation. On this, it was agreed to stand as it did; that after the meeting broke up, Mr. Henry Fox told him he was of his opinion, that peace was necessary, and there was but one man against it; that he supposed one of the ministers spoke freely to him [my brother], and named Lord Chesterfield. My brother said, Lord Chesterfield did talk to him sometimes, and he believed was for peace. Mr. Fox said, all were, except the Duke of Newcastle, who had, on the Dutch answer, blustered, as if that had added both men and money into our scale; and that the Chancellor concurred with the Duke, in order to keep the government of him.

Nov. 19th. Tuesday.

My brother told me, that Mr. Nugent, lately made Comptroller to the Prince, came and took a place close by him in the House on Monday, and told him, how much he wished him in the Prince's service, and that the Prince wished it too, and had the greatest regard for him, with many other civilities; and then gave him a paper to peruse, which my brother shewed me. It was the beginning of a memorial for the Prince, importing, that the Prince had two great ends to obtain;—one, to have the influence due to his rank; the other, to have it in his power, when

King, to choose such ministers as he chose to confide in. In order to both these he must begin by attaching to himself such men as had, and were thought to have honesty and abilities to carry on the business in Parliament, and in office; and that the merit, and not the number, of such was to be considered, for this would follow the first, as every one would follow another, as they saw those engaged in a probability of being able to carry on the ministry; that those attached to the Prince should already act as ministers, by carrying on the system which the Prince intended to follow when king, and therefore should not oppose; and that a settled opposition was become impracticable.

My brother told me, that Dr. Lee[1] had repeated all the same civilities to him afterwards, and had said, the Prince was sorry for what had passed; and after repeating this again, he added, this was all the Prince could do; and then asked my brother why he might not come into the Prince's service, and pressed it. But he said, it was now impossible, and that however he would exert as much zeal in every cause of the Royal family as if he had a thousand places.

Nov. 27th. Friday. Sir Luke Schaub told me, that he had had a conversation with M. Andrié from Prussia, after his being recalled, but before he

[1] A civil lawyer of reputation, a political and personal friend of the Prince of Wales, on whose death he was appointed Treasurer of the Princess's household. He was afterwards made Dean of the Arches, and Judge of the Prerogative Court.

left this country, wherein he had persuaded him that it was the King of Prussia's interest to join the maritime powers, and stop the progress of France, for that, if the King of Prussia meant to substitute himself to the House of Austria in the scale of power against France, it was impracticable; and by throwing necessarily the House of Austria into the arms of France, must produce a Popish league against a Protestant league, wherein there would be found no equality; and if he meant only to secure to himself what he had acquired, this could be obtained only by joining those powers, whose interest it would be, as states as well as Protestants, to keep him powerful for their own aid and support; whereas, a contrary conduct would ensure their resentment and enmity: that Andrié promised, he would make use of this when at Berlin, and accordingly was doing so, and had succeeded so far, that the King of Prussia wanted a minister at his court from hence; that Michel, the secretary, a Swiss, charged here with the Prussian affairs, had shewed him letters from the King of Prussia, pressing that a minister should be sent, but *sans le compromettre;* that he had spoke to three ministers, the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, and Lord Chesterfield; and that this last had told him, that the King would not consent to send a minister to Prussia, though he had proposed it several times. He then described a minister capable of doing the business at Berlin; said, he would deserve statues

to be erected in Holland and here; and added, that he had named me; but Lord Chesterfield had said, I would not. I told him my reasons against going, thanked him for his good opinion, and named Lord Sandwich, at which he tossed up his head, as thinking him not fit. I named Villiers, who, he said, would not do, or Mr. Trevor, whom he thought also unfit for the business; and concluded with shewing how easy it was to negociate with honest views and fair dealing.

Nov. 29th. Sunday.

I shewed Lord Chesterfield Mr. Carre's letter from Scotland, of the Jacobites being rampant, and despising the laws. He told me of the demand of 580,000*l.* for jurisdictions[1], and that he saw it was to prevent the execution of the act; but that if, on the contrary, anything hard was proposed as to Scotland, he would vote for it. I said, that would be just doing what was wanted to set all that country on the side of the Duke of Argyle, who directed all the tools there. He said, he had seen on Monday, that the Duke was to have an audience of the King; that going in before him, he had told the King, his Majesty had got a pretty bill from Scotland; that the King had said, he had expected it; and he added, 'Sir, I foretold you it would be so.' The King said, it was their business. Afterwards,

[1] For the Scots Heritable Jurisdictions. The exact demand was for 583,090*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* The Lords of Session declared 152,237*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* to be the sum which might be given.

the Duke of A. went in, and, he supposed, told a thousand lies. He said, Bland had sent notice of the demand, and said, the odd 80,000*l.* would do, and that the Duke of Argyle's jurisdictions being more valuable than all the rest, he thought nothing could be defalked[1] from his demand of 20,000*l.*[2] He said, orders went now to Bland to concert with the Justice Clerk, the consequence of which was very plain, Bland being a very weak man, and the Justice a cunning one; that one Captain James Sinclair, who had been taken wounded at Culloden, and sent abroad on his pretending to be a French officer, was now lately retaken in Scotland; and the Justice Clerk had wrote up to have him dismissed, calling him a very inoffensive man; and that Lord Finlater had sent up an account, that he had made a search in Cullen for rebels, but had found none, and had wrote to the Justice Clerk, that he did not wonder at this, since the very post before the search, the rebels received notice from Edinburgh that one was intended; that this had put the Justice into a passion, and he had wrote to his lordship, that the secret was kept at Edinburgh, and must have been discovered in his own country. I asked, if the Duke of Cumberland thought of Scotland, and whether I should desire an audience to beg his protection to the King's friends. He said, by all means I should; that his Royal Highness knew the facts,

[1] French.

[2] In the list it stands 25,000*l.*; in the reduced list it is 21,000*l.*

and thought as I did. I said, at this rate my brother would be obliged, when these matters came before the House of Commons, to lay open the miserable state of the King's friends in Scotland. He said, he ought to do it, and would find many there very willing to listen to him. He said, our foreign affairs were in as bad a way; that having no system of our own, we could not tell what to ask, or what to yield, not knowing the situation of the places, and were glad of any assistance; and he had just received the Prince of Orange's opinion upon the plan of peace; that I knew the Prince of Orange; that he had parts, but was in a kind of infatuation; that Ben tinck[1] had parts too, but had no business in him; if things would not do, said, 'Then we can die,' and such Lacedemonian classic phrases, very pretty in Thucydides, but extravagant; that he had received (for he had no secret from me) an ostensible plan, and a secret one, to be the foundation of our negotiation, but both so very absurd, that he was only sorry to see 'em wrote on paper, and not on a wall, with charcoal, as the politicians in Bedlam wrote theirs; that the ostensible one was so wild, that had we made three campaigns with as great success as we have received damage, we could not have offered it; and when he came to look on the secret plan,

[1] Count Bentinck was deputed by the States General to present the Prince of Orange to the Council of State as Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral of the Union, on the partial revolution which took place in the months of April and May, 1747, in consequence of the French invading Dutch Flanders.

instead of diminishing our demands, it demanded cessions from France, places we had not been in possession of since the Treaty of Utrecht. I said, I supposed France would soon humble the Dutch. He said, he supposed they must be on their knees to France this winter; that Ligonier said, they might take Breda at any time, if the weather permitted, for they could assemble round it with the sound of a trumpet 50,000 men; and there were none near but Dutch national troops, and twelve of our battalions in it; and that the Austrians were in the Liegeois, Limburg, &c.; the Hessians and Hanoverians about the confines of Overyssel; so as no relief could come in ten days to it. He said, he had spoke to the Duke about [the] next campaign, who said, he would rather be without the Dutch, who were '[*une*] *véritable canaille*,' and would not fight, but rather hurt him, by giving bad example, and running down troops behind 'em that would fight; that he did not reckon on the Dutch augmentation, which either would not be made, or would be useless, being of new-raised men; but he trusted to the Russians, who, the Prince of Orange told him at the Hague, might be in Flanders by the beginning of February; that he had told his Royal Highness this was impossible, for they would take near four months to march, having eleven hundred miles to march, supposing 'em too to halt only every fourth day, and march twelve miles a-day; and that the Treaty was not yet signed. We were now in

December; a courier took twenty-eight days to go to Petersburgh, with a fair wind to Holland; and the troops would not stir, not only till the ratifications were exchanged, but till the first payment of the subsidy was made; and after that they might be stopped by the death of Bestucheff, that of the Empress, or if she changed her mind, to which she was as liable, as any Empress ever had been. He said to me, besides all this we have certain information, that the French have actually raised an addition of 50,000 men, drawn out of their militia, and new raised, so that they will still have their proportionate superiority. I said, I had had a long discourse with Sir Luke Schaub about Prussia; that I wished his intelligence might be true, and that I supposed he, Lord Chesterfield, might make some use of the Secretary of Prussia here. He said, he saw all those letters twice; first in a way of his own; and then by Michel himself; but Sir Luke magnified things, to make himself more important; that the King of Prussia thought France went too far towards destroying the Republic of Holland; that he looked on himself as concerned intimately in the preservation of it; and he believed, that the King of Prussia might be brought to get us a good peace, or, if France refused, he would leave her interest; that our King would not send him a minister, calling him a 'Fripon,' and wished he was Cham of Tartary; that he, Lord Chesterfield, had told the King he wished so too; but as

he was King of Prussia, the more he was a 'Fripon,' the more necessary it was to have a minister who was a spy at his court; that with all this he could not prevail; and the King of Prussia treated this as an intended neglect, though he excused it all he could; that he had told the King, that he knew two people fit to send thither, but he would not recommend any, knowing that whoever went must be a very unhappy man between the two courts; that some days ago the Duke of Newcastle had prevailed on the King to send a minister to Berlin, and bid me guess whom. I said, 'Villiers.' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Mr. Trevor.' He said, 'By no means;' that, when the Duke of Newcastle turned warrior, Trevor[1] had continued to act as before the pacific part, whereby he was become the King's aversion, and had made the Duke hate him so much as to intend to ruin him; that thereon he was recalled; and it was he himself, Lord Chesterfield, who had got him what he had, to keep him from starving; that Mr. Trevor was used to business, but had humours and fancies. I said then, his Grace may have named his *valet de chambre,* for I knew nobody fit to go. He said, he has recommended Sir Everard Fawkener; that his Grace had asked his opinion of him, saying he was a man of distinction, and not of too high a rank; that he had answered, he would recommend nobody; that

[1] Mr. Trevor quitted the Hague on Lord Harrington's resignation in 1746, on a suggestion from Mr. Pelham.

Sir Everard had been a merchant, which would not procure him esteem in Germany; and that he was Queen-of-Hungary mad, so that if her health was drunk, he would repeat it in endless bumpers. I said, my view had been, that his Lordship might open a correspondence with Andrié. He said, he had been obliged to drop it, to prevent its breaking off disagreeably, from the King's aversion to Prussia.

Dec. 1st. Tuesday. I gave the Duke of Newcastle the recommendation of Mr. Walter Pringle for Sheriff of Tiviotdale, and pressed it. He said, he would put him into the list; and he should be subject to the same examination as the rest; and bid me come back on Thursday. Having asked an audience of his Royal Highness the Duke, I told him, I came to desire his attention to the King's friends in Scotland; and that I hoped, he would excuse me, since it was absolutely necessary, for that I saw with sorrow that, whether from old habits, or some other cause, the ministers could not shake off an influence, that had no regard to the King's interest in Scotland, and that this interest was betrayed there. I then read to him part of Mr. Carre's letter about practitioners not taking the oaths. He asked, if any judge could not insist on it, and ask the question of any of them? I told him, no doubt they ought to look to it. He said, he was sure orders would go down next post. I said, he might judge of what would be done by the

ministers having received no notice of the inexecution of the act; that I had foretold what would happen; but the ministers thought all the King's friends spoke only from enmity to the Duke of Argyle; that I would speak plainly to his Royal Highness; that all asked in Scotland of any man to be preferred, was, whether he would devote himself to the Duke of Argyle; and, whether he were the King's friend or foe, if he would go to hell for the Duke of Argyle, he was sure of preferment; that all this summer the King's service had been betrayed; and all those, who had joined the English ministry in the Jurisdiction Act, had been opposed by what was called the court interest in Scotland; and unless his Royal Highness threw his weight into the scale, it was like to continue so. He said, he would do all that lay in his power, and was convinced it was necessary to be attentive to that country. I said, it was more so now than ever, because as there were new sheriffs to be named, I knew that every Jacobite, that could form a pretension, was encouraged to make application; and that besides the President was given over[1]; and that if one not known to be zealous for the government was placed there, they had as good order all Scotland to put white cockades in their hats; that for my part I never would do so, and therefore wished, if they gave up that country, they would make some

[1] He died on the 10th of this month, and on his death was deservedly characterised by the Dean and Faculty of Advocates as 'that great and good man and eminent judge, Mr. Duncan Forbes of Culloden.'

English Jacobite to exchange estates with me. He said, he thought the sheriffs might be of great use to spread a spirit of loyalty to the government; and he believed they would be named with that view, and that the President would be chosen with it also; and then asked me how the south stood affected: that he believed, the farmers were all well affected, but the lower gentry, who practised the law, and were bred at Edinburgh, were not so, for he looked on Edinburgh as the nursery of Jacobitism, as the profession of the law extended much farther in Scotland than anywhere else. I said, the King's friends were very sorry his Royal Highness had not spent more time in the southern parts than he had done; that it was very true, the farmers or tenants were universally well affected, as indeed they were everywhere where the Presbyterian ministers had any influence; and that as to the lower gentry, there were many Jacobites, for his Royal Highness must have observed, that there was not such a thing as a convert from Jacobitism in Scotland; but that many were debauched into appearances of Jacobitism, by their desire to get some advantage from those who recommended to every thing in Scotland, and who were constantly insisting on the distinction between the Scots ministers, and the English, and setting one people against the other, the consequence whereof his Royal Highness would easily see: and that the President, who was no Jacobite, gave too much ground for this by his toasts of Sir

William Wallace, &c. He said, the President was no Jacobite, but was a Highlander, and carried that to very dangerous lengths, and that he had told him so; that he saw no use of making any distinctions; that there ought to be no such thing as English and Scots, but they should be made more and more, and treated as if they were one kingdom; that the Duke of Argyle was a great man, and one of the most considerable in Scotland; but if he went wrong, there was no reason why the King should follow it. I told him, that since I had the honour to have received a mark of the King's favor, I had told the ministers, that if the Duke of Argyle would be satisfied with the rank of a subject, and act for the King's interest, no man in Scotland would bow lower to him than I would do; but as things were conducted, the King's friends were under very great difficulties, particularly my brother, who could not, if these matters came to be considered in Parliament, either admit, that the whole country was Jacobite, or, that the King's friends there did not inform his ministers of what conduct was held there; and, since they were informed of it, to ascribe their acquiescence in it to disregard of the King's interest would be too heavy a charge; and to ascribe it to inability would be paying them a small compliment; to prevent this, I had taken the liberty to beg his Royal Highness would throw his weight into the scale, without which I was afraid there would be nothing done; that I hoped, he would forgive

me for so doing. He thanked me, and said, he should be very glad of my acquaintance.

Tuesday Evening.

Sir Charles Gilmour[1] came here, and told me, he had had a letter from Lord Arniston, telling him of the President's being given over, and intimating, that he should think it such an affront, if any other were made President; that Sir Charles imagined, Lord Arniston might resign, and bidding him advise with his friends here, amongst whom he named me, whether he should not write a letter to some of them, setting forth his pretensions. Sir Charles added, that both Lord T. and E. were very dangerous men. I told him, I thought so, as things stood, but that I had not delayed till now doing my part to serve Lord Arniston, however, I was afraid, to very little purpose; that, in my opinion, Lord Arniston should write himself to the Chancellor, for any other person might rather injure him than serve him; and that I found the Duke of Argyle laid his whole weight on opposing him, and had gone farther than I could have expected.

Dec. 2nd. Wednesday.

I was not let in at Mr. Pelham's. I went to Lord Chesterfield, and told him of my audience with the Duke[2]. He said, he had seen the Duke afterwards, and having painted to him the miserable prospects abroad, and how little was to be expected in the way of forces, and therefore how necessary it was to set about pro-

[1] A Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, member for Edinburghshire.

[2] Of Cumberland.

curing a reasonable peace, the Duke appeared convinced of what he said, and told him, it affected him not only as one of the subjects, but as one who was at the head of what he saw would be an ineffectual army; but that this was not the worst; that the state of Scotland was very bad; that he believed the King's ministers there did not serve him well; and that there we had triumphant Jacobitism. Lord Chesterfield said, that he supposed, this arose from what I had told him; that he answered, that he was convinced it was so, and had foretold it; and that it would continue so till the King had resolved to be King of Scotland, which was what the Duke of Argyle insisted upon being; and that in order to get it he made use of the assistance of the Jacobites. He then told me, that on the Duke of Newcastle telling the King of the President's illness, the King said, he would be a loss, for on the whole he was a good man, though he had errors; and that, if he died, he supposed Areskine must be the man. To which the Duke of Newcastle said, 'To be sure; 'there was no other.' I said, I was heartily sorry to hear it; that it was a mortal blow to the King's interest, for Areskine had been a notorious Jacobite, and there we knew of no conversions; that Arniston would probably quit the bench, and then all the property in Scotland would be at the mercy of the Duke of Argyle; that I could bear misfortunes as well as another, if they befel the country; but my brother's situation gave me much pain, if the state

of Scotland came to be considered in parliament. He said, nobody could expect my brother should break from his friends in his own country; I then told him of Dr. Lee and Mr. Nugent having spoke to my brother of coming into the Prince's service, and my fear of its being misrepresented to the King by the low German people about the Prince. He said, he would mention it to the King, if I liked. I said, I should be very much obliged to him. He told me, Colonel Stanhope was made aide-de-camp to the King; that within these three or four days he did not expect even that; and he believed, he was the first Secretary of State that could not get an old Lieutenant-Colonel, though before it was his rank, into a regiment, and that he was not sure his protection had not hurt him.

Dec. 3rd. Thursday.

I went to the Duke of Newcastle's, and told him, I was afraid of being officious, but thought it my duty to inform him of what I thought might affect the King's interest in Scotland. He said, he should be glad of receiving any lights from me. I told him, I was personally concerned no farther than the county of Berwick; that there I must beg the ministry would protect and encourage my brother's interest, which was the King's, and the Whig interest. He said, that was already done. I said, quite the reverse; there was not one who had supported him, had any thing, and all that had, had opposed him. Why, says he, the Duke of

Argyle says, 'Mr. Campbell, that my brother' (meaning Mr. Pelham) 'chose.' I said, it was directly contrary, not one, who had any thing from the court, having voted for my brother, but against him; that this was one of his Grace's tricks, who could never forgive my brother and me all the ill offices he had done us; and that I must therefore the more insist, that in what concerned that county, and the gentlemen of it, he would protect my brother's interest, and not give credit to the Duke of Argyle. He asked, what could now be done. I said, there was the affair of the sheriffs. He said, the Duke of Argyle says, Lord Marchmont will recommend one Hume, who was a very good man, to whom he had no objection. I fell a laughing, and said, his Grace was mistaken; I knew who he meant; he was a friend of mine; but I would never recommend any that I was not convinced was a zealous friend to the King, especially on such an occasion, and because I was convinced it was absolutely necessary to establish that principle in Scotland. He asked, who I would recommend. I said one whom I knew to be a friend to the government, Mr. Carre, unless I could get something better for him; and then I would name another firm friend to the King. He said, his name should be set down in the list, subject to the same examination as the rest. I said, if they took the Duke of Argyle's word preferably, I knew no friend of mine would have a share, and many a Jacobite would be named. He said, they would not trust entirely to him. I said, too much

of that was done already, and so they were flattered here, and cheated in Scotland; but that there would be too many vacancies there soon. He said, 'Let me speak to you of something of more importance.' I asked leave to interrupt him, and said, I was coming to matters of more importance, which I begged leave to explain to him. I then went through the opposition given in Scotland to all who had supported the King's measures in Parliament, and asked, what privilege the Duke of Argyle and his people had to oppose such men, more than those who had formerly been turned out for so doing. Secondly, the Duke of Argyle's sending down a letter to Lord Lothian, to bid him refuse to exchange his office, by the very same messenger who carried the offer of the Register's place to me. This surprised him; he bid me tell his brother this. I said, I had done so. He said, this was a very strong fact. I said, it was one; but there were some of more consequence to the King's interest, such as,—Thirdly, the Lords of Sessions ordering people to set values on their claims, merely to raise a clamour, and to obstruct the act. He said, the Duke of Argyle blamed the Session for so doing. I said, this was a most gross trick, for every one knew they were quite subservient to him. He said, Lord Dalkeith said to him, that they had set a great value on his jurisdiction, and one yet higher on his father's; and that both his father and he thought they would be better without them, and that they rather cost them money. I said, it was all contrived to ob-

struct the act, and raise discontents in the country. Fourthly, that the act of Parliament requiring all practitioners of the law to take the oaths was not executed. I then read him that part of Mr. Carre's letter; and when I came to the distinction of Scots and English ministers, I told him, I had mentioned this before to his Grace, and, were it the last word I had to speak, I would say, that upon the crushing of this doctrine depended the safety of the King's crown in Scotland; that I did not desire him to adopt my opinions of men, but to judge by facts, and see whether these arose by our faults, who complained, or by theirs, who betrayed and cheated them. As to the part relating to the King's speech, he said, the Duke of Argyle spoke with high approbation of that part of it relating to Scotland; and yet, says I, he complains everywhere he has no power, as I may do; I have not 40,000*l.* a year, to which I am as well entitled, as he is to any power beyond that of a subject; and he says, he has a good scheme for civilising Scotland, but that it won't be accepted; so that, I suppose, he and his tools in the House of Commons will play their parts on the Jurisdiction Act over again. I then said, this conjuncture was the more critical from the President's illness, and perhaps death. 'Ay,' says he; 'who do you think the most proper man?' I said, perhaps he might think I spoke from pique; but I assured him, that, had I the honour to be his son, I could not speak otherwise than I did and should. And first, the man the most unfit, was T.

'Do you think so?' says he. I said, 'I'll tell your 'Grace, why I do so; he was a known Jacobite in '1715; and I have no faith in Scots Jacobites' con-'versions;' and next, he was a very dangerous man; and they might as well take the crown of Scotland off the King's head, and put it on the Duke of Argyle's, whose subject I would never be, though as much his humble servant as any one, if he would be the King's friendly subject. I said, besides that, Lord Arniston would probably quit the bench; and I did not see how they could supply his place. He asked about him. I said, he was very well; was the ablest man, one whom the whole kingdom pointed out for it; and, as he had a great property, might quit on what would be thought an affront to him; and if he got it, as he was the most zealous friend to the King on the bench, so, I would be answerable, he would belong to the ministers. He said, this was strange, for one of my country, not of the Duke of Argyle's people, had told him, sitting where I was two days ago, that Areskine would be the most unexceptionable of the Duke of Argyle's people to the opposite party. I said, if it was Lord Morton, he had not talked so to me. He said, 'No;' and said, it was Andrew Mitchell. I said, Mr. Mitchell might mean what he pleased by parties; I considered them not; my doctrine was to encourage the friends to the King, and to the English ministers, and I did not think Areskine one. He said, they did not think so of him here; and he would tell me, that the King,

speaking of the President's death, had named Areskine; but that he himself had recommended nobody, he did assure me. He said, 'Who would be 'the best man of the Argyle faction?' for Arniston, I knew, had been always opposite to the Duke of Argyle, and added, what I thought of Grant. I imagined, he meant Lord Elchies; so I said, I knew nothing of him but the name of Grant, and did not much trust the Whiggism of any man north of Tay; but I would not say any man was Jacobite, if I had not particular grounds for it. I think on recollection, he meant the Advocate. He then said, who were the two I had said, that were not on the bench. I said, I meant only one off the bench, and that was Mr. Craigie. But that as in this case Lord Arniston would probably quit, I did not see how they could supply his place; and that this would be the most fatal blow to the King's interest in Scotland; that perhaps Mr. M. would be made a Judge, or a Baron of Exchequer; that I should like the last better, as it was a sinecure. He said, he had never heard of him for either. I said, his Grace then surely would. He said, Lord P. was a good man. I said, he was personally so, I believed, but his family and interest were Jacobite; and John M. was now chosen by that interest. He asked, who were proper. I said, there were not many that [I could recommend] either for a Baron's, or a Judge's place; I should name one, a man of sense and law, and a real Whig, Mr. Carre; but that I supposed a Baron's

place would be easier got. He then got up, saying he was sorry for what I told him. I desired his Grace would not tell anybody what I had told him, but make his own use of it. I dined with Lord Chesterfield, and told him what had passed at the Duke of Newcastle's. He said, Areskine would be the man for all that, and said, the Duke meant the Advocate by Grant. He then asked after one Provost Coutts. I told him, he was a very clever fellow, and was nephew to Provost Stuart. He said, he might then see a prison too, for he had just met with him, having crossed upon him in a foreign correspondence. He mentioned being summoned to a meeting of the ministers this evening, and retired with Lord Gower, and on his return, said to him, he could not tell how to remove difficulties, which he could and would have prevented. He said, he heard Lord Charles Hay and George Stanhope were to be the King's aides-de-camp; but that might not be so for all that. In the evening Lady Chesterfield said, that perhaps George Stanhope's being disappointed might be owing to the King's hatred to his father, but that it might also be an artifice of Lord Granville's to disoblige Lord Chesterfield, and force him to resign. I said, I did not suspect that. 'Why,' says she, 'do you think 'the Pelhams could support themselves, if Lord 'Chesterfield left them?' I said, 'perhaps not;' but I did not see that Lord Granville would like to offend Lord Chesterfield, though by Mr. Villiers

affecting to exaggerate to me the surprise one ought to have of this event, probably he might wish Lord Chesterfield should take it highly ill.

Dec. 18th. Friday.

I waited on Mr. Pelham, who made me excuses for not seeing me when I called. I told him, I wanted to see him before I saw the Duke of Newcastle, and also to give the names of two of my brother's friends for sheriffs. He said, the Duke of Newcastle was the proper person to give 'em to; that there was a list to be made, whereof the ministry would choose; and that this particularly belonged to the Duke of Newcastle and the Chancellor, his department being the revenue. I said, the Duke of Newcastle had asked me, when I named these gentlemen to him, whether my brother had given their names to Mr. Pelham; and I had said, he would do so; that I had desired my brother to do so; but I imagined my brother thought I had a better interest than he had with him. He said, he had not seen my brother, but that he was to be with him in the evening. I said, the Duke of Newcastle had occasioned my mentioning a thing that concerned me more, and surprised me, as it was a notorious falsehood, and told to make my brother and me appear liars to him, and I thought the Duke of Argyle above such an artifice. It was his Grace affecting to assert, that Mr. Pelham had chosen my brother; that to convince him how that matter was done, I would take care he should have the list for Præses, whereby he would

see, that all that voted with us were our old friends, except one, whom he had no influence upon, and one, whose name I now gave him, who was engaged on a promise made by virtue of his letter to my brother to be taken care of; that he had been in the excise, but could not go back while Thomas Cochran was a commissioner. He said, he had no reason to be satisfied with him. I said, I would tell him what had prevailed; that it was £500, and that every man who had anything from the court, had been against us; and one Douglass stood on the list at the Excise-office, now to be advanced for voting against my brother. He said, he could not know that by inspiration. I said, he must have some one there of confidence. He named George D——. I said, I could not tell why he did not serve him truly; but that I told him this only to fix the lie where it truly belonged. He said, he knew nothing of it; that the Duke of Argyle had never named my name, excepting when the Duke of Newcastle had told, that he had heard, every one, who voted for the Jurisdiction Bill, was opposed in Scotland, which, he imagined, I had said. I said, I had. He then said, I meant my brother. He asked, if Mr. S—— had. I told him any man in Scotland, except perhaps Mr. S——, would burst out a-laughing in his face, if he doubted it; and that he might ask Lord Leven who lived in the country. He asked, if Sir L—— G—— had. I said, 'Sir, when I said this, I did not say it, as

'having meddled even in the northern elections, for 'I avoided meddling in any but my brother's, my 'family being then at the head of the Whig in- 'terest, so I cannot enter into particulars; but that 'I heard this from various people of credit in the 'generality of such elections, and I know, it was 'the general cry used by the creatures of the Jus- 'tice Clerk, and those who belonged to the Duke 'of Argyle in Scotland.' He said, the Duke of Argyle complained, that he was run down by *they say*, and that he desired to know who, and what particulars. I said, the Duke then proposed a bargain very advantageous to himself; that to prove any thing upon him, everybody knew, from his character of cunning, was impossible; especially, since every man they trusted in Scotland belonged to him, and would do what he bid them, though he did not appear in it; and that at last, when we came to speak here, his Grace knew he would be believed, when we were not; he would set things in any light he pleased, when we were not present; and the ministers here were not able to do it, because they were ignorant of Scotland, as it did not deserve their attention. He said, he thought it deserved it very much. I said, yet they were ignorant of it, and talked of parties there, which I knew not; for instance, where was this squadron? who were the heads of it? He said, he knew no heads of it; but the tails of it made a great bustle, and were very violent. I said, 'Sir, the violence, you complain of,

'is occasioned by the insolence wherewith they are 'used; you have no notion of the insolent treat- 'ment the Duke of Argyle's people give those who 'dare to be the King's friends.' I then read him a paragraph out of Mr. Carre's letter; and he said, the Duke of Argyle would subscribe to every part of it, except that about the Scots minister; and he asked me, if I would not do as he did, if I found myself suspected in every thing I proposed. I said, I should be very sorry to conduct myself so as to give just grounds of suspicion; but if I had, I assured him, I would withdraw, notwithstanding that great object of Scots power, of which I was said to be ambitious, stood before me; that I did not envy it to his Grace; that I knew he thought I was piqued at the Duke; that I would not say, I loved a man who had always injured me, and whom I knew to be of so rancorous a disposition, as never to forgive any injury he had done; but all I desired was, that they would not make him my King. He said, I saw the Duke of Argyle's situation with the ministers. I said, as the King loved truth, nobody was surprised that he hated him. He said, he did not know if he did; but it was not long since he loved him; and he knew not what such alterations might be founded on; that the ministers did not receive what the Duke proposed, as if they trusted him; and it was plain he did not govern; that he owned he was himself the only friend the Duke had in the ministry; and that he saw the man in

the ministry, with whom he concurred in opinion more than with those who were nearest to him, and with whom his connexion was most sincere, every day knocking at the Duke's head; that things could not continue in this state of speaking differently, and wrangling every hour; that they must come to a resolution; if the Duke of Argyle was to be depressed, and others only employed, to be sure, it was ridiculous to let him enjoy what he now had; or, if they were to avail themselves of the Duke's credit and abilities, and without acting offensively, let in others, it must be put on a practicable footing; and that this last was his opinion, which he would not say would be followed. I said, I was afraid he would find the Duke would think himself *depressed*, if they let in others; and, as to offending him, I appealed to himself, whether I had ever asked any thing to offend him, further than that my brother's friends and mine might have the protection of the ministry, and their share in Scotland; that I knew very well the Duke would be offended, if this was done; and if they meant that, they might as well give him the crown of Scotland; that for my own part I saw the necessity of supporting the King's interest there so strong, that I assured him I would not only do my utmost to support the Duke of Argyle acting for that purpose, but that, if he could forget the injuries he had done me, I would sincerely join hands with him, and let all bygones be bygones; that this necessity was so strong, that

I would join the devil to maintain the King's interest there; for if it was not better encouraged, I did assure him, they would have another rebellion about their ears there, before they were aware of it. He said, 'the Duke of Argyle says the very same 'thing, and agrees with the letter you read about 'taking the Highlanders from their hills.' I said, I must now desire of him, as I know I was thought to be piqued at the Duke of Argyle, to ask the minister (with whom, he said, he was sincerely connected, to whom I ought on every account of private friendship, as well as public connexion, to open my heart), to ask him, whether I had ever held another language to him, than what I now did, and that my particular concern went no further than having my friends in the county of Berwick provided for. After many civilities we parted; and he repeated, that he had not seen my brother, but hoped to set things to rights in the evening.

Thursday. Dec. 24th.

After dinner Lord Chesterfield took me into his library, and told me, he wanted to tell me what the Duke of Argyle had said to him. I told him, what Mr. Pelham had said to me particularly about himself, and that my brother had told me, he had said the same thing to him. He seemed surprised at it; and then said, the Duke of Argyle had the other day stopped him, as he was coming out of the closet; and said, 'one can get a 'word of you, and expect to be heard. There is a 'friend of yours, who imagines that I am his mortal

'enemy, and with whom I desire to have things set to 'rights. You understand forms; and I must ask your 'direction. I came last to this town, or else I should 'have called on Lord Marchmont before this time;' that he answered, Lord Marchmont was not a man of form, and, he was sure, would stand on no such trifles; that it was very true, Lord Marchmont considered the Duke of Argyle as his enemy, and who had acted as such in every instance. He said, he had never done anything, but in the county of Berwick, where I (Lord Marchmont) had too much sense not to allow it was a fair war, and that Lord —— was his relation and his friend, to serve whom he was obliged to do his utmost; that he had never opposed me in anything else, for sure, I did not imagine he had hindered my being one of the sixteen; that it was evident he had not had the nomination of 'em; that he would not have named that bankrupt Lord ——, nor that fool Lord ——; that indeed in the situation he and I were in, he would not propose me for one; but if I were proposed, he would not oppose it, because he thought me very fit to be in on account of my abilities and zeal for the government. Lord Chesterfield replied, that he believed the county of Berwick was the tenderest point both to my brother and to me; to which the Duke said, that we could not imagine, as Lord —— was a dependent of his, that there would be any difficulty in making that point quite easy to our satisfaction. Lord Chesterfield said to

me, that he did not expect from the Duke's character, that there could be a cordial friendship between us, or that I could place my trust in him; but he wished, there might be such a civil intercourse established, that I might be sure of coming in one of the sixteen on the first vacancy. I thanked my Lord for his kindness, and told him, I could not trust the Duke of Argyle without divesting myself of my understanding; but that on any natural occasion I should not fail to wait of his Grace; that I would tell him frankly, why I must wait for such a natural occasion, as would tell easily without seeming to conceal a mystery. It was, lest his Grace should represent it so in my own country, as if I had listed entirely under his banner, which would alienate all our friends from us; whereas at present all the King's real friends there looked on my brother and me as the principal people of our country, to whom they could resort. He approved of this, and repeated what was his view. He said, they had had a meeting about the Presidentship of the Session, in which Mr. Pelham was for ——, as the Duke of Argyle's man, which he owned, saying the Duke had assisted them, and was to be preferred to the squadron, who were linked to Lord Granville, Sir John Gordon, and the Prince. But he added, he thought Arniston and his son were to be gained if possible, and therefore he would propose giving Grant, now advocate, the gown, and making young Dundas advocate. The Duke of Newcastle

mentioned —— and Arniston, but seemed to incline to Lord Elchies, saying, he thought they should name one, who would make it apparent, that the English ministry had named him. Lord Chesterfield said, this was to shew it was his own doing, and neither [the] Duke of Argyle's nor my recommendation; that the Chancellor asked his opinion, and he had said, that he remembered the Court of Session so infamous, that if the legislature did not suppress it, the indignation of heaven ought to have fallen upon it; that, to avoid the like, therefore, he thought the best qualified for a judge, and the honestest man should be named, without regard to Whig or Tory; this the Chancellor highly approved of, seeing where it pointed; that he, Lord Chesterfield, added, that he knew none of the persons mentioned, but had heard from the Duke of Queensberry, that —— was not an honest man in private life. Mr. Pelham said, that was because he had converted his Grace's interest to the service of the ministry; and Lord Chesterfield said, that might be an obligation to the ministry; but that if he had very great obligations to the Duke of Queensberry, and acted then against him, it was still a crime in private life. Then the Chancellor weighed what had been said in his Chancery scales of equity, and seemed to be of opinion, they should name Arniston. But nothing was decided in this meeting. He told me, Mr. Maul was to be Baron of the Exchequer, and that this was readily come into, as a *douceur*

to the Duke of Argyle, who, Mr. Pelham said, was against his being one of the Lords of Session. He said, he would now tell me farther, but not to ask my advice, for his resolution was already taken. I said, I did not like the preamble. He said, he was resolved to resign his office. I said, I was extremely concerned to hear it, for our situation must then be hopeless, nor did I see where we had any resource. He said, what became of the other ministers was none of his business; but he could stay no longer in with reputation; that when he came in first, he had told 'em, they should make one last effort, add two millions to their annual expence, make their army superior in the field, and by one successful campaign put themselves in a state of having a reasonable peace, before another campaign, which, it was too plain, could not be expected to be to our advantage; that Mr. Pelham [said], it was impossible to raise more money than was already proposed; and that the King was made to imagine, Lord Chesterfield, being for peace, tried by increasing of the expence to make war impracticable; that he might indeed have had as much credit in the closet, as any one can have, if he had inclined to do some things, which nobody should ever know, and which he would not do; that since the affair of the resignations the King hated all his ministers (indeed loved nobody); but that the Duke of Newcastle, having cried like a child when he resigned, was the easiest to him of them all; that his Grace

was so jealous of the favour of the closet, that he could not endure any one should have credit there; and therefore if he, Lord Chesterfield, wanted to have anything, it was sure to be opposed in every way possible; that he was not inclined to take Colonel Stanhope's affair in a high way; but he saw it was done to shew that he had no credit, and to tell everybody not to apply to him, if they wanted anything; that in his situation, what must the world think, but that he continued in for the sake of £5000 a-year; that besides he was every day setting his hand to what he disapproved, carrying on measures he condemned, and acting as the Duke of Newcastle's *commis*, whilst his Grace played the part of sole minister, and was safe; Lord Chesterfield's hand was to every paper for carrying on a ruinous and mad war, which must end in a bad peace; and when that came, then he should bear the blame of it, as having always been for a peace; that the nearer it came to this last period, the more difficult was his situation, and the farther he was involved; and that then he could not part with the ministers in good humour, which now he was resolved to do; that he would tell 'em, that his health would not permit him to go through the fatigues of an office, wherein he could do no service beyond another; that he would tell the King the same thing, and that he had not that degree of credit with him, wherewith alone he could serve him with satisfaction; and that he found his

advice to have no weight in the conduct of his affairs, which he thought in a very desperate state; but that he did not intend to oppose, or enter into any cabals; that he would continue to support his government and measures without any employment; and, he thought, he could then do it with more effect. I asked, if he had told any of the ministers. He said, 'No;' the Duke of Newcastle had no reason to expect it; and he had not yet told Mr. Pelham; but that he must have perceived it, from his having avoided to meddle, and affecting indifference in their meetings; that he had told Lady Yarmouth of it, who owned she expected it, and could not advise him to continue in, but expressed her sorrow for it; that Lord Sandwich [1] was intended to succeed him, to act as *commis* to the Duke of Newcastle. I said, I was sorry things were in this state; but though he had not asked my advice, I could not have given him other than what he had taken, things being in this condition. He said, he would go to Bath directly for a month, and, to shew he did not quarrel with the court, would leave his proxy to Lord Gower; and if any body came to him to meddle in politics, he would tell 'em, he was entirely employed to take care of his health,

[1] This confirms a statement in a letter of Mr. Fox, in Coxe's Pelham Memoirs, that the Duke of Newcastle meant Lord Sandwich to have been successor to Lord Chesterfield. His Grace seems to have out-manœuvred himself by placing the office within the Duke of Bedford's reach, calculating that he would insist on Lord Sandwich having it, so as to make this arrangement an act of the Duke of Bedford, who however accepted the offer for himself.

and to finish his new house. He told me, that Sir Everard Fawkener, who was named to go to Berlin, had come to him, and said, he could not go, unless he had the Plenipotentiary added to the Envoy, his circumstances not allowing him; that he answered, that, as he had neither named him, nor thought of him, he had nothing to do with it, and, therefore, Sir Everard must go to the Duke of Newcastle. He desired me not to mention what he had told me, as it was yet a secret to everybody. I promised him, nobody should hear it from me.

1747-8. January 26th. Tuesday. I met the Duke of Argyle at a bookseller's shop, who, after many compliments about my brother, for whom he at first took me[1], walked to the farther end of the room, and asked me, if I had not been told here, that he had kept me out of the sixteen. I said, that I had made no inquiries about it; but it was natural to imagine so, since my brother and I were known to lie under the misfortune of his disapprobation. He said, he really had not; that on the contrary, he should have been for it, because his view had always been to have the country represented by the Peers in the best manner possible; and for that reason he had not disapproved of Lord Tweeddale's being chosen, when he was asked, whether he should not disapprove of it, since Lord Tweeddale was out of the King's service. I said, all I had said about the Peerage was to complain, I had not a list sent me, when I was taken into the King's

[1] On account of the extraordinary likeness of the twin-brothers.

service, and to tell, that I had resolved to vote for all, who wrote letters to me, till I observed they were all of a particular complexion. He said, to be sure it was ridiculous to take me into the King's service, and leave me out of Parliament; and it should not have been so, had the resolution been taken sooner, nor should my brother [have] been opposed. I said, my brother and I were both very sorry to find his Grace against us, because we were both friends to his Grace's family, as much as any men in Scotland, and had a great respect for his own abilities; that I in particular reflected with great pleasure on the honor his brother[1] had done me, in being very particularly connected with me; and that my family for their own interest were obliged to be zealous friends to the King's family. He said, both our families were forfeited families, and in the same situation; that we had no doubt been reckoned political enemies; but that was at an end. I said, his Grace's abilities were so well known, that no man could be thought to have sense, (as I imagined my brother and I were supposed to have) who would desire to be reckoned his Grace's enemy; that we had always considered it as our greatest misfortune to be esteemed so by any; for it was not the turn of our family, which had, along with his Grace's, ventured their lives in the same cause; but that other people did all they could to make people think so; and that now my Lord ——, who,

[1] See a letter from John Duke of Argyle, to Hugh Earl of Marchmont, vol. ii., p. 221.

every body knew, was entirely (and wisely so) under his Grace's direction, had raised an opposition to my brother on the idle imagination of my death. 'What!' says he, 'have they killed you, too?' I said, 'Yes; or the King is to die, whose life, no 'doubt is, like ours, in the hand of God; or else 'my brother is to get a place.' He said, he knew nothing of it, but had been told, that Lord —— had said within these three or four days, that, to be sure, if my brother got a place, he must be chosen again without opposition. I said, what was done was absolutely foolish; but it might be intended to engage votes in the county; and his Grace knew, when country gentlemen were engaged, it might be a plausible argument, that they could not break their words; but that, I hoped, my family could not but be better entitled to his Grace's protection than Mr. ——. He said, there could be no doubt of it. He said, he had formerly told the ministers, that he would make the matter easy with Lord ——, who had no family. He was by himself, his brother being a parson; and that, if they would push him forward, and give him a regiment, he would be mediator in this matter; and, as to what I had mentioned, there should be no more of it. I thanked his Grace, and said, that to avoid being represented as fond of complaining, especially where his Grace was concerned, since every one knew Lord —— could not pretend to any weight but under him, I had sent to Scotland for authentic accounts of Lord

——'s conduct, before I would complain to the ministers; that my family consisted only of my brother and me. He said, he heard I was in a way to have children. I said, even then it might not be. He asked, where it went next. I said, to women, since Sir Gustavus Hume's son's death; and that Lord ——'s would go to B——. He said, he would take care there should be no more in what I had mentioned, but bid me go to work my own way, and say nothing of what had passed between us, because they would say, we had been caballing together against them, and that there should be no difficulty in my being in Parliament; that he had refused being a minister, when it was offered him some years ago, and would not be so now on any account. I said, it could not be, that he suspected himself deficient in abilities for it. He said, when he got to his gimcracks in mathematics, he was the happiest man in the world, and bid me believe every thing he said was spoke plainly, as he meant; and so he left me, as I thanked him.

Jan. 28th. Thursday.

I went to the Duke of Newcastle, to recommend Mr. James Pringle to succeed Mr. Douglas of Cavers, my brother having done the same to Mr. Pelham long ago. His Grace told me, Mr. Pelham had not mentioned it to him, but had spoke of Sir Charles Gilmour's son, and that the Duke of Argyle had asked it for the Justice Clerk, to whom they had given the signet, with a view that, after what he was to pay out of it,

500*l.* a-year might remain clear to him; that he said, this first year he had only got 300*l.* clear, and therefore desired to have this place to make it up, and hereafter he should account for the overplus. I said, this was accumulating every thing; and I believed the Justice Clerk knew well enough how to make up an account; that my brother and I could, I saw, get nothing for our friends, though we had joined the English ministry cordially, and had only been ill used for it, since, in order to bully them into giving Lord —— a regiment, my brother was now opposed on the expectation of his getting a place. At this the Duke expressed his surprise, and said, nothing was settled yet, even in the great affair of the President, and asked, if my brother or I had not brought a compliment from Mr. Dundass to him. I said, we both had, and that on hearing they proposed making him advocate. I had wrote, to tell him to be practicable. He said, that was now over; that it had been a thought of his, which his brother relished; but other expedients were now trying. He told me, he understood me to mean Lord —— in a former conversation, when I imagined he thought I meant the Advocate by Grant. He said, that what I proposed about the arms of mine, sent to Berwick during the rebellion, must be laid before the Board of Ordnance. I desired in general, that our friends might have their share in Scotland; and said, that as to the President's place, that ought to be given according to the general

maxim, which, I must say, was necessary to be kept to in Scotland, and that was, to prefer the man who was most surely the King's friend. He said, that was true; but private connections would interfere too much.

Jan. 29th. Friday.

I went to Mr. Pelham to solicit for Mr. Pringle, and told him in general what his brother had said. He said, if he did not intend to do what the Duke of Argyle asked, he would not have told me of his asking it. I said, he might use more art, but it came to the same thing. He said, it was not art, but it was of no use. I said, at this rate they might give the Justice Clerk every thing, and bid him pay us all pensions. He said, that this was a place for life. I said, it was so, and therefore we wanted it for our friend; that my brother had named him to him for it some months ago. He said, he did not remember that, my brother having only spoke to him in general. I said, he was certainly mistaken. He said, Sir Charles Gilmour had asked it for his son, and said much in his favor, to which I agreed, and said, that at this rate my brother and I should get nothing for our friends, though we had joined them very sincerely. He said, that was not sure, for nothing was fixed. I said, that however every thing was promised, except it was the sheriffship, and that given [against] my brother's recommendation would be such a blow to the King's interest in the county, and such a box o'the ear to my brother, that

I did assure him he would not take it; that I saw no good to them using us ill, and exposing us in our own country; but there was a certain point, beyond which we had too much spirit to bear it. He said, my brother knew he valued him more than all the rest. I said, my brother told me, that he, Mr. Pelham, always used the most polite expressions to him; and that was one reason why it vexed him to solicit him, because he saw that he did nothing; so that all we got was bad consequences of his civility, since we supposed these must have been the grounds for Lord —— going down to raise an opposition to him, in case he got a place. He said, 'No;' but it was evident Mr. Hume could not continue as he was; and that the Duke of Argyle had said, there should be no more of that. I said, Yes; if they would give Lord —— a regiment. At this he blushed. I said, it was what I had good authority for; and, if he would keep my secret, it was from the Duke of Argyle. So I told him in general of my meeting his Grace. He said, that view was vain, for they did not meddle in the army; the King and Duke ordering that themselves. I then mentioned ——— whom, he said, he would do for next Sunday. He said, the proper way about my arms was, for his brother to order the Board of Ordnance to pay me, and take them. He said, on my desiring him to tell this to the Duke of Newcastle, that his brother and he seldom met; but he would tell it to Mr.

Stone. I left him the memorial. I gave the Duke of Newcastle the memorial about my arms at court; and he said, he would put it in a proper method.

Feb. 1st. Monday. He told me he had done so.

Feb. 5th. Friday. Lord Chesterfield told me, he was to resign the seals to-morrow, having told the Duke of it, who had tried to persuade him to keep; but he said, it was impossible; that he had mentioned Colonel Stanhope's affair to him, which was not done, after he, the Duke, had shewed him his name wrote in his paper for aide-de-camp by the King's order. The Duke said, that was an unhappy affair. I said, I was sorry he was to resign, for I had hoped there was some expedient on the carpet to prevent it, though I was shocked to see him appear at court without the weight he ought to have; that I heard Mr. Murray and Mr. Fox were named for succeeding him, and that Mr. Pitt had had a long conversation with Mr. Pelham in private. He said, it would not be a commoner who would succeed him, and Pitt's conversation had been upon another subject.

Feb. 10th. Wednesday. Having missed Lord Chesterfield on Monday, I went this morning; he was alone, and looked pleased; said, he was going to Bath on Sunday, for he found his stomach wanted it, and to get out of the talk which his resignation occasioned. I said, everybody was sorry for it; and the ministers seemed embarrassed. He said, the Duke of Newcastle was distressed by.

it. I said, he looked so. He said, he had heard disagreeable things in the closet upon it. He said, he had parted with the King in the best manner possible; that he had told him, that his health required that he should retire to recover it; that he assured him, he did not retire to opposition, from business to business, but to retirement; that there he should not oppose his measures, nor meddle farther than to support them, when he had occasion. The King said, he was sorry he had taken this resolution, for that he had served him with fidelity, exactness, and ability; and desired to know, whether anything in his behaviour to him had displeased him. He answered, that had his Majesty not mentioned this to him, he should, before he left the closet, have assured him, that there was nothing in his *personal* behaviour to him, but what was to his satisfaction; and that the King seemed to understand him. I asked, if the King was dull enough to take the reason of his health for the real one. He said, he had before told Lady Yarmouth to tell the King, that he would mention no other to him; that she had told him yesterday, that the King had spoke of him in the handsomest manner, and even with regret; that in the chapel on Sunday the King had told the Duke of Grafton of his resigning, and said, he had not done it as others had done, which had been taken up, so that he was asked, whether in the closet he had not *laid former resigners on;* he answered, he had not; that the

Chancellor came to him on Sunday, having sent word so on Saturday morning, and when he came in, said, he came too late for what he n ant, but gave him reasons against resigning. He told him, that having told Mr. Pelham on Wednesday, that he would resign on Saturday, without enjoining him secrecy, he did not think it necessary to inform the rest; that his lordship knew, that in public measures no regard was had to him, even when he was backed by his lordship and the rest of the cabinet; that therefore he withdrew from that obloquy and indignation, which would very soon fall upon the administration indiscriminately, from the calamities which must follow the measures now pursued; that two months would begin these calamities, and no discrimination would be made of the ministers; and that in other matters, as a minister, he had no weight or influence. He told me, the Chancellor answered him with great compliments; but he would not tell me the particulars; and I suppose from his manner, more than compliments had passed. He said, he told the Chancellor, his behaviour in the House should be as it had been; if the affair of war and peace came to be considered there, he should speak against the war, as he had always done; and if peace was made, he should approve of it, and blame only its having been so long delayed, and those who had delayed it. I told him, Madame Steinberg had talked to me against the Duke of Newcastle, so I supposed the Germans

were not his friends. He said, they were not, but that, to gain favor, the Duke of Newcastle had given himself up to prosecute the King's favorite scheme, the war; that he had told the King, that by doing so he ruined himself; his head was at stake; but he would sacrifice all to carry on his project; that the King hated him, and laughed at him behind his back; but this was such a favorite scheme, from the narrowness of the King's views, his hopes of acquiring something in Germany by conquest, which Lord Granville had set before him, to gain him, and the real benefit to Hanover of 800,000*l.* a-year for his troops, that even Lady Yarmouth could not be heard upon it; that she kept all the credit she had with him; and he would hear her, when she talked of not pushing his son too far, but shewing him some indulgence, only answering, that she was always speaking for that puppy; but when she even mentioned the danger the electorate was in from the continuance of the war, he fell into a passion, and would not hear any more. He said, that Lady Yarmouth having repeated with some vivacity to a foreign minister what she had said to Lord Chesterfield, that she was sorry he went out, but could not say it surprised her, or that she disapproved of it, this was put into an intercepted letter, which the King read[1].

[1] It is said in the Memoirs of the last ten years of the reign of George the Second by the Earl of Orford, that the apology for his resignation, which Lord Chesterfield published, was very well written, and was supposed to have been drawn up by Lord Marchmont under his direction. It is added, that

Feb. 14th. Sunday.

Mr. Grevenkop telling me, the Duke of Bedford had got the seals of secretary[1], I went to congratulate Lord Gower upon it. He told me, that I would naturally imagine he knew something of it on Friday, when he saw me; but he assured me, he did not: that he had indeed perceived the Duke of Bedford hesitating a

' from that time he lived at White's gaming and pronouncing witticisms ' amongst the boys of quality.' As a journey from St. James's Street to Chesterfield House at that day was somewhat hazardous at late hours, to insure his safe return with his spoils his footmen carried blunderbusses instead of canes. Respecting his resignation Lord Orford says, ' The Seals were ' given to Lord Chesterfield; but he [being] like his predecessors excluded ' from all trust, the moment he had a right to be trusted, soon resigned them.' The Duke of Newcastle appears to have driven him out; and his attempt to obtain an influence through Lady Yarmouth seems to have been a main cause of his Grace's jealousy of him.

The King disliked Lord Chesterfield as a preacher of peace; and the Duke was so compromised in his master's foreign politics, that there arose hence in his mind a new cause of enmity to him. His counsels were overruled, the favors he solicited were refused, and his department was offensively encroached upon by the Duke, his colleague. Whilst this passed, he was daily loading himself with the responsibility of disastrous measures, of which he wholly disapproved; and the head of the administration vouchsafed to him a benevolent sympathy, but without an effort to support him. His retaining office therefore had become impossible. But his lordship is not quite ingenuous in one part of this account of the matter. He tells Lord Marchmont, that the Duke was so jealous of the favors of the closet, that he could not endure, that any one should have credit there; and that therefore if he (Lord Chesterfield) wanted to have anything, it was sure to be opposed in every way possible; that he was acting as the Duke of Newcastle's *commis;* and it could not be, that, such as he was, he should be ignorant what arts they were that prevailed against his, nor was the struggle so much in the dark, that he should be unable to distinguish what hand it was that lamed him. But he would have his friend believe, that his Grace was distressed at his resignation, and had heard disagreeable things in the closet upon it; that the King had spoken of him in the handsomest manner, and even with regret.

[1] The Duke of Bedford was married to a daughter of Lord Gower.

day or two before, although he had at first peremptorily refused it, and that on Thursday night, his sister, Lady Essex, had teased him so to accept of it, that she had almost drove him out of Lady Cadogan's; that Lady Essex was so eager about it from her zeal for the present ministry, which, she thought, could only be supported by the Duke of Bedford's being secretary, for there were so many competitors in the House of Commons to any other man, that they must have fallen into confusion; that on Friday after the King's levee, when the Duke of Newcastle came in, he took the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Gower into a corner, to show them some papers; and when he had done, the Duke of Bedford desired to speak to the Duke of Newcastle in the other room; that they staid some time there; and when Sir John Ligonier came out of the King's closet, the Duke of Newcastle went in, where, after he had staid about a quarter of an hour, he put out his head and called, 'Duke of Bedford, come in;' that on this he (Lord Gower) jogged the Duke of Devonshire, who said, 'I believe, I have the same thought you have;' and soon after, on the King going to the drawing-room, the Duke of Newcastle declared, that the Duke of Bedford was his brother secretary; that on this, having seen Mr. Pelham that morning without saying anything, he imagined Mr. Pelham might think he concealed what he might be supposed naturally to know, from the relation in which he

had the honor to stand to the Duke of Bedford; and therefore he desired one to tell Mr. Pelham, that he was an absolute stranger to it, till he saw what he told me; that the Duke of Bedford told him, he had taken the seals hand over head, and almost repented of it already, for that he knew nothing of the business, and had just learned, that Mr. Chetwynd, the first clerk, had resigned; and he had but one resource, which was, that Lord Gower might prevail with him, as a Staffordshire man, to continue in; that he had accordingly got Mr. Chetwynd to remain in six weeks, till the Duke could find another; that yesterday the Duke seemed pleased with his new office, and said, he found it would be of less business than the admiralty, the provinces being changed; that he, Lord Gower, had said, he wished that had been done before, and his friend Chesterfield, he believed, would be secretary still. He said, the division of the provinces was not exactly made yet; that the Duke of Bedford said, he hoped the Duke of Newcastle and he would agree, for he should not encroach upon him, and he hoped the Duke of Newcastle would not upon him. I asked, whether the Duke of Bedford was for continuing the view of the ministry as to Scotland,—that the same ministers should be so for the whole island, or was for erecting a sole minister there. If the first, I should continue to give what lights came to my hands; if not, I should acquiesce. He asked, what was the Duke of Newcastle's view.

I said, the first was his; but that Mr. Pelham was the devoted friend to the Duke of Argyle. He said, this explained something to him. I said, I had no objection to the Duke of Argyle, but that he would have everything, or be dissatisfied. He said, that was very true. I said, it was worse; that his friends were not all heartily such to the present establishment, and that to encourage friends to the King's family ought to be the constant principle in that country. Somebody came in; so I said I would go to the Duke of Bedford's. He said, he supposed I would not touch the subject now to him. I said, 'No;' but I would talk it over again with his Lordship. He said, he believed it had better be first broke to the Duke by him.

March 2nd. Wednesday. I gave the Duke of Newcastle a memorial of the informations I had received relating to the Sheriffs in Scotland. He told me, Lord Dalkeith, whom he could depend on, had named Pringle, Lord Haining's son, for Selkirkshire. I said, his Lordship did not know him, for he was not a firm Whig. He said Lord —— had recommended one H. for the county of Berwick. I said, I hoped my brother's recommendation would take place. I gave him a short state of the interest in the county, and asked, if we had done anything to deserve that our interest, which was the Whig one, should be discouraged. He expressed great satisfaction at our behavior, and bid me speak to his brother. I told him, I had;

and that I was sorry to trouble him. He bid me tell my brother to do it. I recapitulated what had passed since Mr. Pelham's first treating with my brother, and said, they must lay their hands to their hearts, and choose what interest they would support, for I had no concern personally beyond the county in Scotland. He showed me a letter from Lord Arniston to himself, and said, nothing was done about it yet. I said, they could not get an abler man, nor one more firmly attached to the King's interest.

SUPPLEMENT.

[*An Account of the Battle of Falkirk.*]

Madam[1],

Having engaged to send you some particulars of the late battle at Falkirk, I have made it my business over again this day to inquire about them; and in order to understand them, I must take notice of the situation of the two armies, and of the nature of the ground betwixt them.

On Friday last the King's army was encamped on the north side of Falkirk upon the crofts, and the rebels at the Torwood[2], which is about three or four miles north of his Majesty's camp. The stand-

[1] The two following accounts of the battle of Falkirk are in manuscript amongst the Marchmont Papers. The first of them was probably addressed to one of the sisters of the last Earl, who was then at her brother's seat at Redbraes in Berwickshire; but it is without address or signature. They are perhaps as little discordant as different representations of the same action usually are. The second is the more circumstantial and intelligible narrative of the events of this unfortunate scene of disgrace, one abounding in errors, and indiscipline on the side of the King's army, which must strike forcibly the eyes of even those who are strangers to the science of war.

[2] The Scots army occupied this post in July 1651; it is so strong, that Cromwell did not choose to attack it.

ards of the rebels were displayed upon an eminence near the Torwood, and were kept so all day. The ground betwixt the two camps, on the west side at least, is hilly. The rebels in the morning began their march, and made a compass like a semicircle, going west, and then coming south and east to our camp. In that circuit they had occasion to pass through a plain near Dunnipace, which is dry, and which, I hear, would [have] been a fine place for our army to have attacked them in. As the motion of a great body of the rebels could not be a secret at broad daylight, so they beat to arms about eleven in the forenoon, and the men formed in the line of battle; but it pleased the General to order them all to their tents again, but the men [were] ordered also to carry their arms with them to their tents, instead of placing them at the Bell. No doubt the General had intelligence, which made him do this; however, thus they continued, till the rebels were beginning to form on the top of the hill on the west of our camp. They say the General was at dinner, when they were in a haste ordered to arms, which was about three o'clock, or before it. He ordered all the dragoons to march up the hill, and endeavor to gain the eminence, which the rebels seemed to be designed to take; and there, as the adjutant (Mr. Ker) to Ligonier's dragoons told me, they strove with the rebels, who should have the wind of other, for by this time there was a furious wind and rain, which had begun half an hour before, but not so

violent as now. Ligonier[1] sent back the adjutant to see if the foot were come up; but he came back and told, there was none near them. After that some little time he despatched him to get orders from the generals, whether to attack or not; but he returned with this answer, that he could see none of them, for they were with the foot, who, though advancing up the hill as fast as they could, yet had not been able at that time to get up to the dragoons on the top of it. Upon this Ligonier and his Lieutenant-Colonel, Whitney, made the attack on the Highlanders, by going on at a hard trot, and received the fire of the first line of the rebels, and then pierced through that first line, and advanced to their second, which gave them such a fire as brought down many of them, upon which they retired; but some say, upon the fire of the first line they retired; and which is true I cannot tell. The one I had from the adjutant, who was in the action; the other I had from a gentleman, who said, he was at a little distance west of both lines, that is, at the end of them. Upon their retiring (and some of them with great precipitation), they came in among the foot, and trod down some of them, and spread a fear among them. The foot were marching up the hill; and the regiments on our left, that is, behind

[1] Edward, brother to Sir John Ligonier. He was so enfeebled by illness that he could scarcely sit his horse, but would not be dissuaded from leading his regiment into action. He died at Edinburgh on the day following. His regiment was that which had lost its distinguished leader, Colonel Gardiner, and was routed at Preston Pans.

the dragoons, were Wolfe's, Sir Robert Munro's, and the Glasgow militia, some of which were broke by these dragoons, and the Highlanders who followed them. One of Wolfe's men told me, they were greatly discouraged by their pieces not firing, occasioned by the rain. But not only did these regiments fly, but the others next them,—yea, all of them, except Barrell's, and the regiment of foot (late Ligonier's), and the old Buffs, who were originally placed as a *corps de reserve*, and so remained behind Barrell's the whole time. I have not precisely the order of the regiments in the line of battle; but this I know, as they were formed in a great hurry, and the disposition altered with the motion of the rebels, Ligonier's foot had the right of all, as the dragoons were on the left of all, that is, they were before Wolfe's and Munro's, who were on the left of all the foot. The —— —— were on the left of Ligonier's foot, and behaved so scandalously, that they fled before the enemy came near them; and as they were just in the front line before Barrell's, they were coming back on Barrell's, who threatened to fire on them, and made the —— —— open, and pass by them, and then Barrell's came up in their place. Only Ramsay, the Lieutenant-Colonel of —— —— joined Barrell's, and fought with them. The rebels, after beating our left wing, did not pursue it, but turned along the side of the hill to attack our right; and there Barrell's and Ligonier's foot received them so warmly, and fired by

ranks, the rear and centre ranks, the first rank still keeping[1] up their fire, that they made the whole Highlanders fly up the hill, by which time it was dark. The first rank of Barrell's never fired their pieces, the Highlanders not having come near, but being beat off by the fire of the other ranks. The behaviour of the —— —— I had from several; and that of Barrell's I had from their major, who seems to be a judicious, understanding, modest, brave soldier. General Huske and Brigadier Cholmondeley were the general officers, who commanded these brave regiments, who stood, and, we may say, saved the whole army. Some part of Price's regiment, and some of Battereau's joined these three regiments, and some officers and private men out of the regiments which fled. As for the General, we hear nothing of him from the time that he ordered the dragoons to take possession of the hill, and ordered the foot to march up the hill after them, till he is at Falkirk with the Earls of —— and ——, when Huske and the right are fighting and beating the Highlanders. As Huske, so Cholmondeley behaved —bravely, though his regiment ran away like the rest. Had the Duke of Cumberland been here, I believe, the regiments had behaved in another manner; and if he comes not, we despair of seeing other behavior, or better conduct. It is reckoned a dreadful blunder, the not having the men under arms, or

[1] It is evident by what follows, that the writer, when saying 'keeping up their fire,' means 'reserving their fire.'

the line of battle formed, till the enemy had possessed themselves of the best ground, and then ordering all the foot to march up to that ground, by which all the officers were out of breath before the battle began; whereas, had they either marched sooner to attack them on that plain near Dunnipace, which they passed, or had they remained still on the plain in their camp, they were safe, and probably had been victorious. Their camp had a marshy ground before it, and on the west of it; and the town of Falkirk on the south, behind; and a deep hollow way on the east of it. The account of the camp, and the situation of the ground I have from the gentleman, who is proprietor of it. I hear General Hawley is so fretted, and out of humor, that he cannot be spoke to. Our train of artillery was drawn into such marshy ground, that it stuck there, and never fired one gun; and is all lost but three pieces. The captain of it, one Cunningham, carried off the guard from it, and ran away. He was to be tried at a court-martial for his life, but endeavoured to put an end to it by bloodying his arm; however he is not yet dead.

There are strange blunders, or strange villainy here. We are all groaning for the Duke's coming here, without which we despair of things going right, let them send what men they please.

I forgot to mention, that the regiments, which stood, marched back to the camp, and staid there an hour and a half; but it was not thought proper

to remain there, lest they should [have] been attacked in the night-time by the Highlanders, especially when all their pieces were wet with the rain.

Sir Robert Munro, and his brother, the doctor, are both killed; as also Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, and several captains, but not many private men.

This is the substance of what I have been able to pick up; what, I understand, the E. of —— even owns to be an inglorious battle.

I am, with great respect and esteem,
Madam,
Your Ladyship's most obedient humble servant.

Edr. Jan. 24th, 174$\frac{5}{6}$.

N. B. I hear from one of the old Buffs, that the dragoons, after retiring from their attack on the left, drew up in their rear; and after they were gathered into a body, advanced up the hill again beyond the foot. We reckon our papers blame them unjustly, and that the account in them was given them by some, who want to excuse the horrid cowardice, or something worse, of the foot, or their sad behavior, which [arose] perhaps from part of both.

[*Another Account of the Battle of Falkirk.*]

On Thursday the 16th January, 1746, General Hawley, with ten pieces of cannon, from six to one pounders, joined the King's army encamped to the west of the town of Falkirk. On Friday the 17th, early the rebels' army was perceived, and their colours plainly observed in the Torwood, about three miles distance west of Hawley's camp. They made a feint of marching by the north side of the Torwood to attack the King's army, which was then (about eleven o'clock) drawn up in battle order ready to receive them; but the General, finding that the rebels did not advance, and that their colours still remained unmoved in the Torwood, and perceiving, as he thought, their main body still there, he, about one o'clock, allowed the troops to dine in their camp.

The General having some time after got intelligence, that the rebels had under cover of the rising ground stole to the southward, and were marching directly by Dunnipace to the top of the hill above the camp, and not then above a mile and a half's distance from it, he immediately ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march from the left as quickly as possible to take possession of the top of the hill; and in the mean time commanded the army to be formed a little to the south of the village

of Falkirk, and ordered the cannon up the hill after the dragoons.

The young Pretender, perceiving the dragoons' intention, detached betwixt 1500 and 2000 of the clans to prevent their taking possession of the ground, and to form the right of his first line, which they very quickly did, the main body of the rebel army being still at least one mile and a half behind.

It being now after three o'clock, and Hawley not having got his cannon placed, or the army fully formed, he ordered the three regiments of dragoons, who had thus advanced from the left, to attack the detachment of the rebels, and keep them in play, until he got all in order, which the dragoons very briskly did; but having received a smart fire from the detachment of the rebels, who then broke in upon them sword-in-hand, and the dragoons not being supported were repulsed, and fled back upon the left wing of the troops, and put them in some disorder, which being observed by Lord George Murray, and Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, who commanded the said detachment of the rebels, they very judiciously improved the advantage, came boldly down the hill with this small detachment, gave the left of the King's army a very smart fire in the front and flank, threw by their guns, drew their broad swords, and broke and routed them sword-in-hand, whereupon the front line of the army, and all the rear line also, except Barrell's regiment, fled directly; and the fellows, that were driving the

horses with the cannon cut the traces, dropped the cannon, and ran quite away with the horses, by which means all the cannon were lost, except three of the smallest, which happened to be behind the rear line not come up.

Barrell's regiment in the right of the line, and the Old Buffs, and Ligonier's in the *corps de reserve*, having never been attacked, and continuing on their ground, were by General Huske formed into a line, and remained in that posture for a considerable time, until those of the rebels, who were pursuing the left wing, were returning up the hill to their main body, which had not yet reached the field of battle; and then those three regiments fired by platoons upon such small parties of the rebels as were returning from the left; at last a body of about 400 of the rebels thus returning wheeled about, and advanced towards those three regiments, who received them with constant platoons. This body of the rebels having no guns to return the fire, they having thrown them away at the beginning of the pursuit of the left wing, were obliged to retire up the hill to the main body, from which there were immediately 800 detached to support them; the three regiments perceiving this retired directly to their camp, and soon after to Falkirk, and from thence followed the remainder of the army that night to Linlithgow, leaving the field of battle, seven of their cannon, their whole ammunition, their dead, wounded, camp, and tents, with such of

their baggage, as was in the field of battle, to the rebels.

General Hawley returned next day to Edinburgh with the army, where they still remain. The rebels continued the night of the battle in General Hawley's camp, and in the town of Falkirk; a great number came the next day to Linlithgow. They are now returned to the siege of Stirling, which, it is said, they are carrying on very briskly without any disturbance.

General Hawley's army consisted of twelve regiments of foot, three regiments of dragoons, 1200 Campbells, 1000 other volunteers,—in all about 9000; whereof, said to be killed 500; wounded and prisoners, 800.

No account of the number of the rebel army. There was not above 2000 of them engaged; and their main body came never fully in view. It is said, they have 63 killed, and about 40 wounded. Major Mac Donald, brother to Keppoch, having pursued the retreat too far, is the only prisoner.

It is said, there are betwixt 30 and 40 of the King's officers killed, and in that number Sir Robert Munro, Colonel ——; Biggers, Powell, and Whitney, Lieutenant-Colonels; 14 Captains; and a great number of Lieutenants, Ensigns, and other officers.

One captain and two subalterns of the rebels killed; Lord John Drummond slightly wounded in the arm pursuing the chase; Lochiel slightly wounded in the heel.

The army was drawn out in two lines, and a *corps de reserve.* In the first line four battalions, viz., the Royal Scots[1], Pultney's, Cholmondeley's, and Wolfe's, in the second line five battalions, viz., Barrell's, Munro's, Fleming's, Price's, Blakeney's, and the Glasgow Volunteers, in the left of all: in the *corps de reserve*, Buffs, Battereau's, Ligonier's, and the Argyleshire Volunteers; on the left three regiments of dragoons, viz., Cobham's, Gardner's, and Hamilton's, with the cannon.

[1] All the twelve battalions of the line, thus defeated at Falkirk on the 17th January 1746, were comprised in the army victorious at Culloden on the 16th April following, and with three battalions more formed the whole of the regular infantry in the field that day.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

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on 27 November, 2018